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in the Dark Ages
(500-1150)

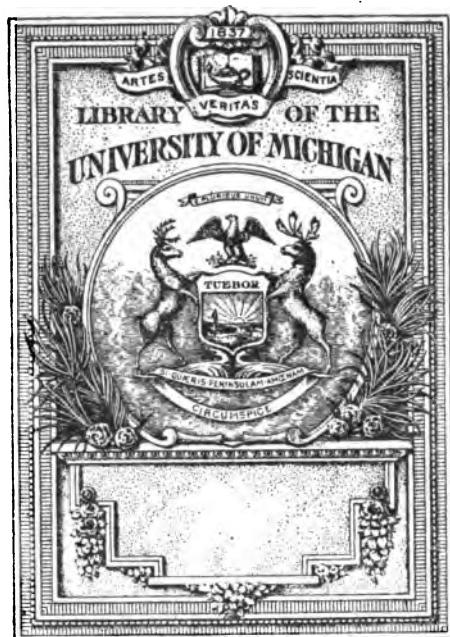
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LEICESTER BODINE HOLLAND

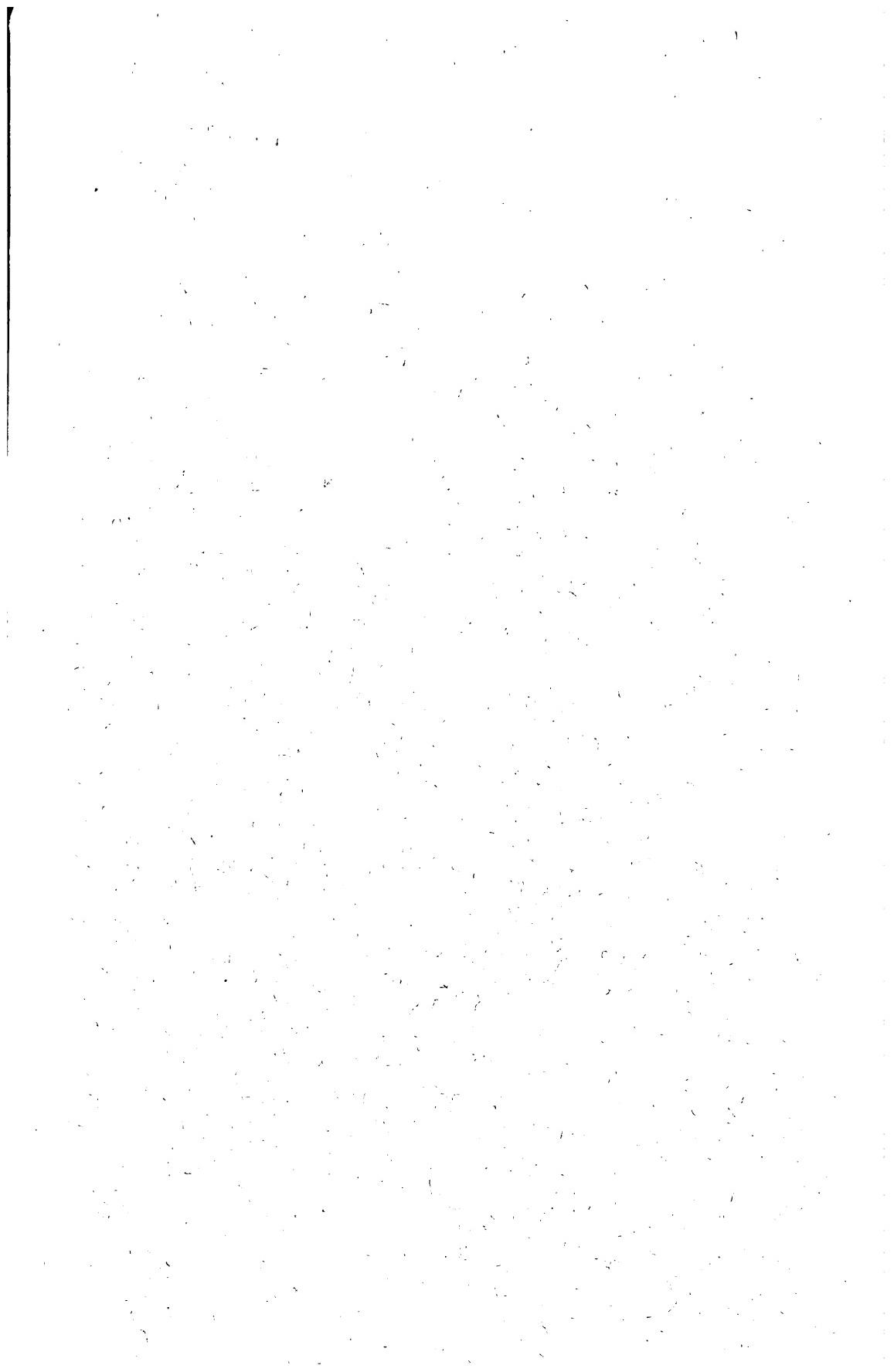
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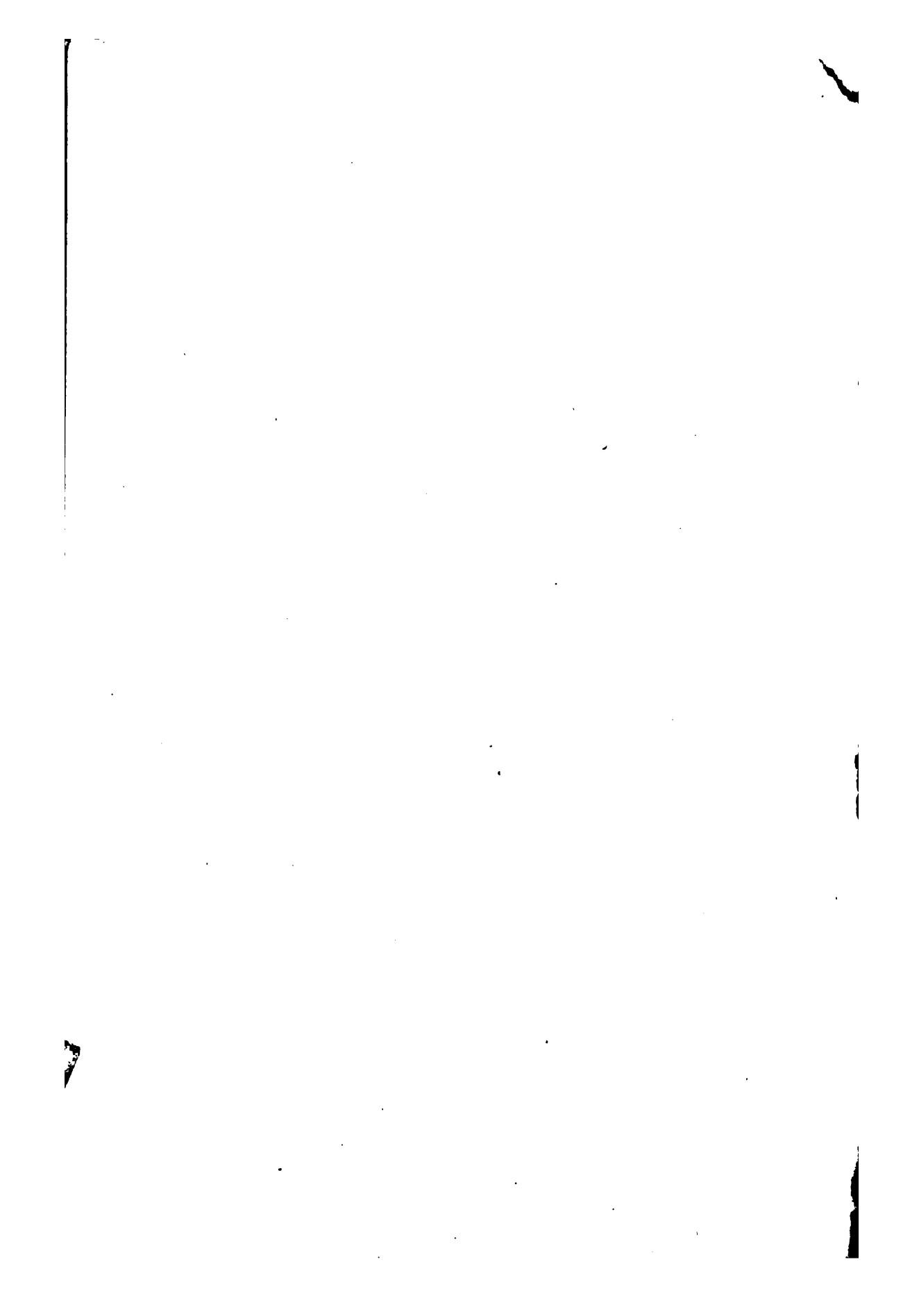
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in the Dark Ages
(500-1150)**

BY

LEICESTER BODINE HOLLAND

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TO

ARTHUR CHARLES HOWLAND

in appreciation of
stimulating instruction and
friendly guidance.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

GALLO-ROMAN HIGHWAYS

	<i>Page</i>
Dual role of rivers of France as highways and as barriers.....	1
Effect of river highways upon social geography.....	3
Distribution of cities along rivers.....	3
Ports at river mouths	4
Hindrances to river traffic	5
Direct evidence of river traffic	7
<i>Nautae</i> and <i>Navicularii</i>	7
Functions of the <i>Nautae</i>	8
River traffic after the Gallo-Roman period	11
The <i>Marchands de l'eau</i>	13
Direct evidences of land traffic:	17
Effect of river barriers upon social geography	17
Relations of Gallo-Roman routes to topography of France.....	18
The <i>Via Domitia</i>	18
The Rhône Road	20
The Lyons-Saintes Road.....	21
Lyons - Langres - Cologne and Aosta-Langres - Rheims - Boulogne Roads	22
The Narbonne-Bordeaux Road.....	24
Gallo-Roman communications	25
Table of Peutinger	26
Itinerary of Antoninus	27

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEYS OF KINGS AND POPES.

Itineraries of the Dark Ages	29
Continuance of traffic during the Dark Ages	31
Routes indicated by the journeys of Carolingian kings	32
Journeys of Charlemagne	32

	<i>Page</i>
Journeys of Louis the Pious	36
Journeys of Charles the Bald	38
Journeys of Louis the Stammerer and Contemporaries (878-892)	47
Journeys of Raoul of Burgundy	48
Journey of Louis d'Outremer	48
Routes indicated by the chronicles of Flodoard and Richer	49
Routes indicated by the journeys of Louis the Fat	50
Routes indicated by the journeys of the popes	51
Journeys of the VIIIth and IXth centuries	52
Communication between Rome and France in the Xth Century...	53
Journeys of Benedict VIII, Leo IX and Victor II.....	54
Journeys of Urban II	54
Journeys of Paschal II	57
Journeys of Gelasius II	58
Journeys of Calixtus II	59
Journeys of Innocent II	61
General communications of the Dark Ages as shown by royal and papal routes	63

CHAPTER III.

PILGRIM AND MERCHANT ROUTES.

Routes indicated by pilgrimages to Jerusalem:	65
Pilgrimage in 333	66
Pilgrimages of VIIth-Xth Centuries	66
Opening of the Danube Route	67
Routes of the First and Second Crusades	69
Routes indicated by pilgrimages to Rome	71
Pilgrimages within France	73
Pilgrimages to Tours	73
Pilgrimages to Mont St. Michel	76
Pilgrimages to Rheims, St. Denis, Auxerre, Poitiers, Chartres and Le Puy	77
Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostella	78
General effect of pilgrimages on traffic routes	79
Importance of commerce in determining traffic routes	80
Articles of home-consumption and articles of trade	81
Provenance of articles of commerce in the Dark Ages	82

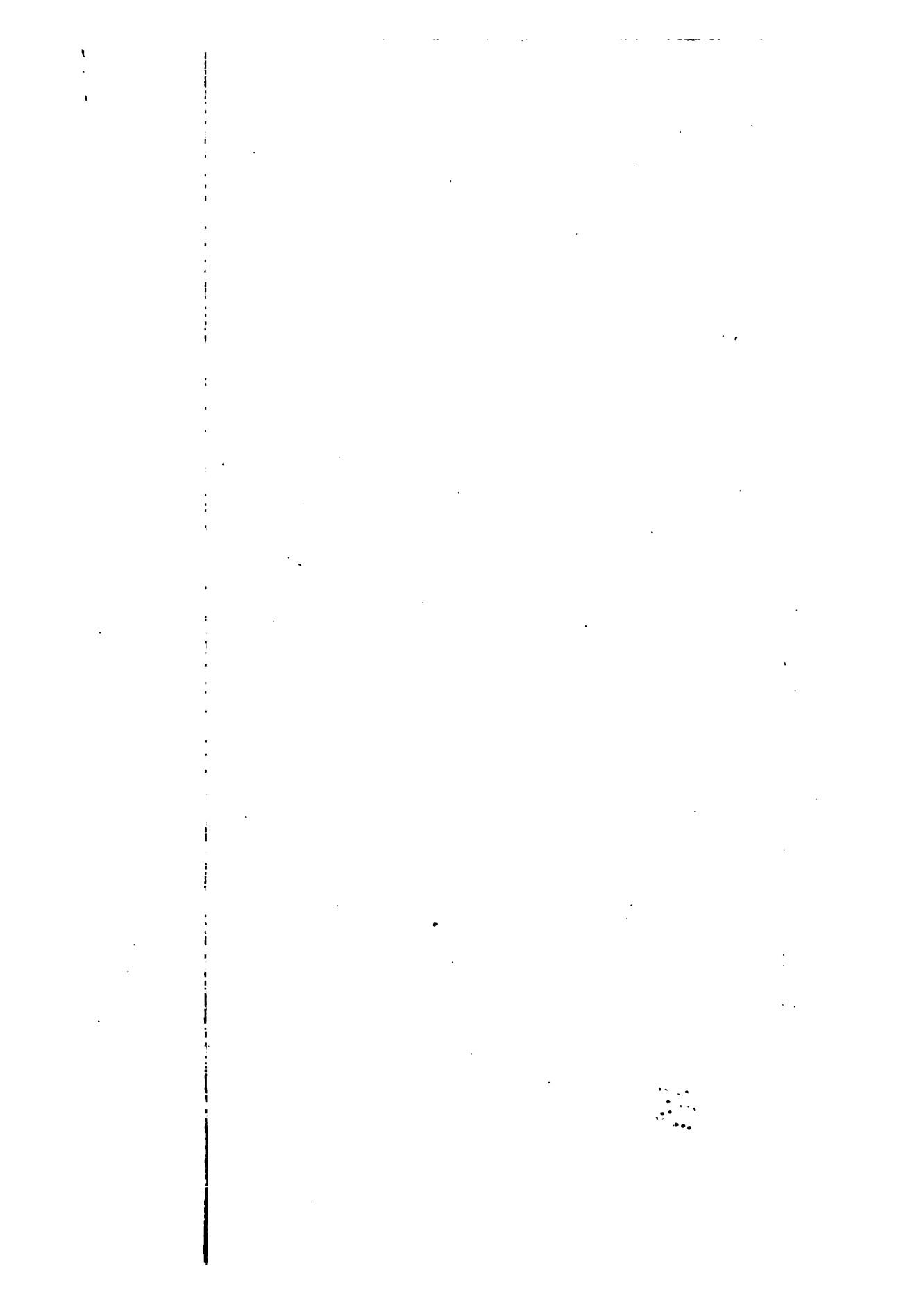
	<i>Page</i>
Carrying trade across France	84
Effects of concentration of commerce and industry	85
Fairs	87
Communes	89
Indication of commercial routes by distribution of population in the IXth-Xth Centuries:	90
In Lorraine, the Rhine Valley and the Franche Comté.....	91
In Flanders	92
In the Ile-de-France	93
In Champagne, Burgundy and Lorraine	93
In the Saône and Rhône Valleys	95
In Languedoc	95
In Gascony	96
In Auvergne	96
In Aquitaine	97
In Normandy, Maine, Anjou and the Orléanais	98

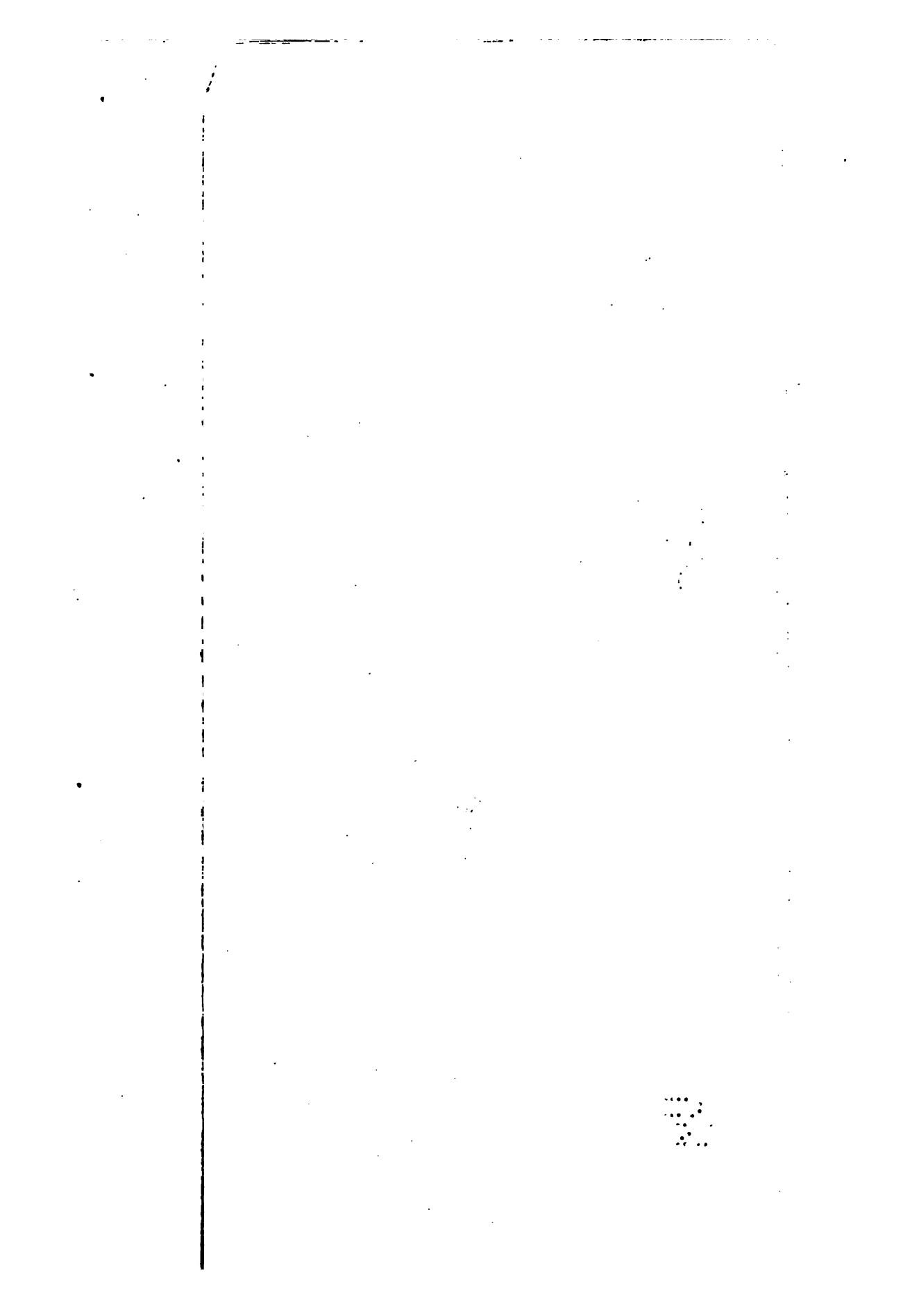
APPENDICES.

- I. Tables of the journeys of kings of France.
- II. Bibliography.

MAPS.

- Pl. I.—Journeys of kings and popes in France....At beginning of volume
 Pl. II.—Distribution of population in France, IXth-
 Xth Centuries, (after Lognon)At beginning of volume







CHAPTER I.

GALLO-ROMAN HIGHWAYS

"The whole of Gaul is watered by rivers which descend, some from the Alps, others from the Cévennes and the Pyranees, and which empty either into the ocean or into the sea. The regions they traverse are in general plains or lands whose gentle slope gives currents favorable to navigation. Furthermore, these water courses are placed in such fortunate relationship, one to another, that the passage from sea to sea is easy by land portages which are short and over level country; but most often the stream itself serves for road, either for ascending or descending. The Rhône, in this respect, is particularly suitable, since it receives a great number of affluents; empties into our sea, which is very much more important than the exterior Ocean; and flows through the most fertile part of Gaul."¹

To Strabo, writing just before the beginning of our era, the rivers of France not only serve to make the land rich in agriculture, but seem to form great highways for commerce and culture; playing the role of the Nile and the Euphrates, the fathers of civilization in the ancient world.

But, curiously enough, when we turn to Caeser, whose knowledge of Gaul was certainly more intimate and only a few decades earlier, we find no suggestion of all this. To him the rivers were of importance only as affecting military operations,

¹ STRABO, *Geog.* Bk. IV, ch. I, § 2.

and in this respect they served as bars, not aids, to communication. The first bridge across the Rhine² is described with as much detailed care as his most elaborate siege operation, and was apparently considered of little less importance as a military feat. And this famous passage is not the only reference of Caeser to the rivers of Gaul. Thus, in the very beginning of his first campaign, he gains the advantage over the *Helvetii* by surprising them while crossing the Saône on rafts and boats, a proceeding which in spite of the slowness of the current, had taken them twenty days to accomplish.³ Again, in his campaign against the *Belgae*, he pitches his camp as a fortified bridge-head beyond the Aisne, which though a small stream and fordable, proved ample to protect the lands of the *Remi*.⁴ By strategic maneuvering rivers play important parts in the defeat of the *Treveri*⁵ and the *Parisii*⁶ by Labienus. The Loire is an obstacle which a military band of the *Aedui* dare not cross, though they had apparently set out to do this very thing;⁷ and in spite of a bridge across it at *Genabum* (Orleans), the inhabitants of that town are unable to withdraw quickly enough to escape the Roman army. Vercingetorix, by destroying the bridges across the Allier, manages to bar the road to Caesar's legions, which only cross when a ruse has enabled them to rebuild one of the broken bridges.⁸ In fact, the only reference in Caesar's commentaries to the use of the rivers of Gaul for transportation is the statement that having burned *Noviodunum* (Nevers) where Caesar had stored most of his supplies of horses, corn and money, the *Aedui* carried away in their vessels whatever corn they could and destroyed the rest by fire or by throw-

² CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*; Bk. IV, ch. XVII.

³ *Ibid*; Bk. I, ch. XII-XIII.

⁴ *Ibid*; Bk. II, ch. V, ff.

⁵ *Ibid*; Bk. VI, ch. VII, ff.

⁶ *Ibid*; Bk. VII, ch. LVII, ff.

⁷ *Ibid*; Bk. VII, ch. V.

⁸ *Ibid*; Bk. VII, ch. XXXV.

ing it into the river; ⁹—which does not speak well for the capacity of the Aeduan river traffic.

There is, of course, no reason why rivers should not act as highways for transportation and at the same time as barriers to land traffic across their courses; but if river traffic greatly predominated over that by land, as Strabo's description would imply, and as has been generally assumed to be the case for the dark ages as well as for Roman Gaul,¹⁰ the hindrance to land traffic would be of little importance. Such a predominance of water traffic would have controlled very definitely the development of France, for the streams which were most important when Strabo wrote are still the most important today and their courses have not changed. If great lines of communication were dictated by them before the Roman conquest, such lines should have persisted with little variation until they were superseded by the railroads. The great towns of France should have grown beside the great streams, since commerce is the food of towns, and the great ports should have been situated at the river-mouths. The development of the Mississippi Valley before the dominance of the railroads, with many prosperous settlements along the river banks and the great port of New Orleans at the mouth, is a good picture of the type of development Strabo's description would foreshadow for Gaul.

It is easy to see that such was not quite what actually took place. There are great cities on the great rivers, but not nearly so many as one would expect. The Rhône flows past Lyons, Vienne, Valence, Orange, Avignon and Arles, it is true, but the Rhône lies in a comparatively narrow valley between the Alps and the Cévennes and land as well as water traffic was forced

⁹ *Ibid.*; Bk. VII, ch. LV.

¹⁰ CARLIER. *Dissertation sur l'état du commerce en France sous les rois de la première et de la seconde race*, p. 10.

LEVASSEUR, *Hist. du commerce de la France*. pt. 1, p. 37.

PIGEONNEAU, *Hist. du commerce de la France*. pt. 1, pp. 32ff, p. 76.

to follow that path. The Loire has few large towns, compared with the importance of the river; Nevers, Orléans, Tours, and the sea port Nantes at the mouth are all. Angers is up a tributary,—not on the main stream. To offset these Poitiers and Bourges lie not far to the south, and Chartres and Le Mans to the north, all on streams too small to be of any traffic value. The Seine has Paris, and on its head waters and tributaries Troyes, Sens and Auxerre, but until the eleventh century Paris was scarcely more important than Noyon, Soissons, Senlis, Amiens and Beauvais, which are poorly situated for water commerce; and Rheims, the greatest of the northern cities before the tenth century, lies on the smallest stream of all. The fourth great river of France, the Garonne, which with the Aude almost forms a natural canal from Mediterranean to Atlantic,¹¹ presents an even more curious case. One great city, Toulouse, lies on its upper waters, at a point where the portage from the Aude would strike it, but from there to Bordeaux at the mouth, a distance of over a hundred and fifty miles, about the distance from Lyons to the sea, there is only a single town of importance,—Agen. On the other hand, Albi, Rodez, Cahors, and Périgueux, all at least as important in former days as Agen, lie seventy to a hundred miles up separate affluents, while just a little further north are Limoges and Angoulême, of still greater riches and prominence in the early history of France, yet not in practicable communication with any of the great waterways.

Nor was the status of the ports what a great river commerce would lead one to expect. Each of the four rivers, it is true, had an important port well inland, where sea-going vessels could ascend with the tide, but Rouen on the Seine was outshone by Boulogne and Quantovic in early times, and later by Calais,

¹¹ "After having ascended the Aude a little above Narbonne, merchants, by a road of seven to eight hundred stadia, reach the Garonne; the latter river carries them to the Ocean."—STRABO, *Geog.* Bk. IV, ch. I, § 14.

none of them at river mouths. Nantes, at the mouth of the Loire, was rivalled by Vannes, and later by La Rochelle; Bordeaux was at times surpassed by Saintes. Narbonne, at the Mediterranean end of the Garonne—Aude route, a great port in Roman times, was eclipsed by Montpellier in the eleventh century, though the latter was neither on a river nor even on the sea. Most surprising of all, Arles at the termination of the Rhône, and closely connected with the sea by the canal of Marius, though at times great politically, never held a high rank as a port, while Marseilles, the earliest and much of the time the chief of the Mediterranean ports, has no obvious relation to any river system.

Evidently the rivers of France were not the perfect highways they would appear to be at first sight, and in certain cases the reasons for this can be clearly seen. Michelet calls the Rhône a "*taureau furieux descendu des Alpes et qui court à la mer.*" So swift is the current that at this present day barges which descend laden, usually ascend empty or with very light loads, though drawn by steam tugs. Of recent years there has even been some agitation in favor of abandoning the Rhône for navigation altogether and using it solely for water power and irrigation purposes. The Loire, with a more moderate current, is an exceedingly variable stream. Liable to frequent and sudden floods because of the hard impervious character of the soil which forms its water shed, in dry seasons it shrinks to a net work of rivulets between islands and shifting bars of sand. Constant dredging is required to keep a channel open for towing barges. The Seine from Troyes down is of gentle and fairly constant current, easily navigable in either direction, though below Paris so extraordinarily tortuous that much journeying is required to go a little distance. The Garonne is also well suited for navigation in both directions, below Toulouse. Though its current is slightly stronger than that of the Seine

and it is perhaps more liable to floods, high banks make towing practicable at almost all times. The most equable stream of all is the Saône, which "flows with such incredible slowness that the eye cannot judge in which direction it moves,"¹² ideal for water traffic for two hundred miles above Lyons but connecting with the sea only by the impetuous Rhône.

Down stream traffic is easy on any of these rivers, though perhaps somewhat less so on the Loire than on the others, but in the dark ages upstream traffic must have been very difficult on the Loire and next to impossible on the Rhône. Strabo himself says that merchandise was often carried to the upper waters of the Loire by carts rather than up the Rhône, though the latter lies only a short distance away.¹³ Where upstream freight was possible it must have been towed from the bank, probably by man power.¹⁴ That such methods persisted to some extent through the dark ages is indicated by a charter of the year 558, requiring that a foot path be left along the Seine for towmen.¹⁵ Packet boats rowed by many oars, similar to those on the Ticino and Po in Italy¹⁶ may have been used for passenger traffic in Gaul in Roman times; private conveyances of the sort certainly were used, being more luxurious than carriage or litter travel.¹⁷ Also where the rivers were wide many small sailboats were to be seen.¹⁸ But in the harder years

¹² CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*. Bk. I, ch. XII.

¹³ *Op. cit.* Bk. IV, ch. I, § 14.

¹⁴ SIDONIUS, *Epis.* Bk. II, ep. X. The rivermen in this passage are towing a boat upon the Saône, at Lyons.

¹⁵ PARDESSUS, *Diplomata*. Vol. I, p. 117, No. 163. *Teneant autem perticam legalem, sicut mos est, ad ducendas naves et reducendas.*

¹⁶ SIDONIUS, *Epis.* Bk. I, ep. V; CASSIODORUS, *Variae* II, xxi; IV, xv.

¹⁷ SIDONIUS, *Epis.* Bk. VIII, ep. XI and XII. A pleasure barge is sent to bring a guest from Langon on the Garonne to Bordeaux.

¹⁸ Sailing vessels were frequent on the lower Garonne—"atque post veredos remis velivolum quatit Garunnam" (*Ibid.* Bk. VIII, ep. XI)—and probably also on the lower reaches of all the larger rivers. AUSONIUS says that the Moselle bears ships as the sea does (*Mosella* l.27) but this

which followed it is doubtful if row boats larger than skiffs for local ferriage¹⁹ were found upon the rivers, except when the Northmen drove their dragon ships far inland by force of many arms.

A factor which must have proved a considerable obstacle to upriver traffic by towing was the presence of bridges. On the smaller streams they were fairly common; even in Caesar's time they spanned the Seine as close together as Paris and Melun.²⁰ On the larger rivers they must have been much further apart, probably there was none between Orléans and Tours, but in revenge these large bridges were built on boats rather than on piles,²¹ and were relatively more difficult to pass. Still further obstructions, perhaps mills or *wijers*, are indicated by the order of Charles the Bald²² that waterways which were newly blocked should be opened as before.

The principal basis for belief in the predominance of water over land traffic is the prominence of the guilds of watermen in the early centuries of our era. Inscriptions show colleges of *navicularii*²³ to have existed at Arles and Narbonne and in the

does not necessarily mean sailing vessels. The lower Seine is so extraordinarily sinuous that it is hard to see how vessels which could not sail at an angle with the wind could have been practicable there.

¹⁹ Compare the row boats in CAESAR, *De bello Gallico* Bk. VII, ch. LX.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Bk. VII, ch. LVIII.

²¹ E. g. the bridge at Arles "navali ponte," (AUSONIUS, *Ord. Urb. Nob.*); "tabulatum pontem" (CASSIODORUS, *Variae*, Bk. III, p. 10.)

²² Capitulary of 854, Art. 3.

²³ WALTZING, *Etude hist. sur les corporations romains. Navicularii* Vol. 2, pp. 34-58; Vol. 4, pp. 105-109. *Nautae* Vol. 2, pp. 29-34; Vol. 4, pp. 101-104. LIEBENAN, *Geschichte des Röm. Vereinswesens. Navicularii*, pp. 67-71. *Nautae* pp. 81-84. BESNIER in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités. S. V. Navicularii*. Inscriptions relative to these corporations are collected in convenient form without comment by FAGNIEZ, *Documents relatifs à l'hist. de l'industrie et du commerce en France*. Two other colleges are frequently classed as boatmen; the *Ratiarii* (WALTZING, *op. cit.* Vol. 4, pp. 116-117; LIEBENAN, *op. cit.* p. 84) situated at Grenoble (C.I.L. XII, 2331) and on Lake Geneva (C.I.L. XII, 2597) and the *Utricularii* (WALTZING, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 157; Vol. 4, pp. 124-126; LIEBENAM, *op. cit.* pp. 87-89). I would hazard the guess that the former were lumber-

lagoons of Valence, and of *nautae* at Paris, on the Rhône and its tributaries—the Saône, the Durance, the Ardèche, the Ouvèze—and on the Rhine and its tributaries—the Aar, the Neckar, the Main and the Moselle. The *navicularii* were not simply sea-merchants, but from the second century of our era became public functionaries, entrusted with the transport of the *annona*,—imperial taxes collected in grain and other foodstuffs as well as in money,—from the provinces to feed the state-supported population of Rome. As the sureness of this traffic was of vital importance, the *navicularii* were incorporated under the Antonines in colleges whose services were obligatory, perpetual and hereditary.²⁴ In return special privileges were accorded them, they were exempt from all taxes²⁵ and from military and municipal duties, and after the reign of Constantine, were raised to knighthood on completion of five years' service.²⁶

There is unfortunately no imperial legislation concerning the *nautae* to make clear their role, but the inscriptions are of some help in showing their affiliations. We find among them knights and municipal officials. Some not only belonged to

men who piloted log rafts down from the wooded mountain slopes to the cities of the Rhône valley. As for the *Utriclarii* it has been much debated whether they were makers of skins to hold wine and oil, or navigators of rafts floated on inflated skins. (cf. WALTZING, *op. cit.* Vol. 4, p. 126 for bibliography of this debate.) In Mesopotamia such rafts, called *Keleks*, have been used since time immemorial, because they require a minimum of wood, and wood is of great value there; but the use of bladder-rafts at Lyons on a river so heavily wooded as the Rhône—witness the ease with which Hannibal found material for rafts and boats (TITUS-LIVIUS, XXI, 26)—especially in its upper waters, seems to me highly improbable. Moreover, colleges of *Utriclarii* have been found at Antibes (C.I.L.XII, 187) where the open sea would render navigation of bladder-rafts very difficult, and at Nîmes (C.I.L.XII, 3351) where the absence of water would make it impossible.

²⁴ *Cod. Theod.* XIII, V. 19. cf. LEVASSEUR, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, Vol. I, pp. 83-88.

²⁵ *Cod. Theod.* XIII, V. 5; XIII, V. 17.

²⁶ *Cod. Theod.* XIII, V. 16; LEVASSEUR, *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 14-15; PIGEONNEAU. *Hist. du commerce*. Vol. I, Appendix No. 1.

colleges of the *nautae* but were also associated with the *navicularii* at the mouth of the Rhône, with the makers of beams, and of wine skins, with dealers in salt meats, and especially with wine merchants. Two had been collectors of the treasury of the Gauls.²⁷ In the Theodosian code the *navicularii* are associated with the bakers. This is altogether natural since the latter were dependent upon them for their grain supply. By analogy the *nautae* would seem to have been engaged in piloting down stream barges,—or perhaps rafts,—of lumber from the upper Rhône and wine from the Saône to Lyons and the cities of the *Provincia*. Besides this private trade and surpassing it in importance the *nautae* were very likely also charged with collecting the cargoes of grain and other *annonae* for the *navicularii* to ship from the river mouth to hungry Rome.²⁸ Many

²⁷ C.I.L. XIII, 1709, and 1688 (See below, note 28).

²⁸ The two inscriptions which mention “*allectori arkae Galliarum*,” (C.I.L. XIII, 1709 and 1688) are singularly alike in character. Unfortunately, one (C.I.L. XIII, 1709) has been lost, and transcriptions of it have been used in editing doubtful parts of the other, (C.I.L. XIII, 1688). In the latter the “*allector*” is described as “*Patrono nautae. Araricor. et Rhodanicor.*” which presents no difficulties, since the *nautae* of the Saône and the Rhône appear often united under a common patron. But in the lost inscription the description is “*Patron. nautar. Araricorum et Ligericorum.*” As MOMMSEN points out (Ann. dell’Inst. 1853, p. 68) this is a very surprising combination, for while the Saône and the Rhône unite at Lyons, the Saône and the Loire are separated by the mountains of the Charolais. Moreover it is the only known inscription which refers to *nautae* on the Loire. The correctness of the reading seems to me therefore open to question. The other inscription continues, “*patron. cond—tium item ar—ariorum Lugud. consistentium*” while the lost inscription gives “*item are—cariorum et condeatum*.” There is no question but that the same colleges are referred to in both inscriptions, but since the words *arecariorum* and *condeatum* are elsewhere unknown it is difficult to be sure what they mean or whether the form given is actually correct. (Cf. WALTZING, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 86). The usual interpretation is that they refer to *nautae* of the “*pagus Condatus*” and the river *Arecar*. There are several objections to this interpretation. In the first place, the *pagus Condatus* is presumably the territory between the Rhône and the Saône at their confluence, and it is unusual, at least, to name a college of *nautae* for a region of dry land. In the second place the river *Arecar* is unknown. And in the third place, the inscription does not read “*patron. nautar. cond—tium*”

facts give support to this conjecture. Thus in the fifth century storehouses along the banks of the Saône and the Rhône were filled with grain by the Bishop of Lyons in time of famine.²⁹ These must have been public or semi-public structures,³⁰ the Bishop inheriting, as in many other cases, local governmental functions. The colleges of the *nautae*, like those of the *navicularii*, were held in public honor, forty seats at the amphitheatre at Nîmes being decreed to the *nautae* of the Saône and Rhône, and twenty-five to those of the Ardèche and the Ouvèze;³¹ the semi-official character attaching to the transport of public goods is the obvious explanation of this privilege. If the traffic on the Rhône had been one of general commerce intercommunicating in all directions, it would probably have been under the control of a single body; instead, colleges of *nautae* were formed for the Durance, the Ardèche and the Ouvèze separate from those of the Rhône and the Saône. This is readily explained if we consider each college to have been in charge of the district watered by the affluent stream from which it takes its name,

but *patron. cond—tium*; in the absence of *nautarum* there is no reason to assume that *nautae* are referred to at all. It seems to me that *cond—tium* and *ar—ariorum* are not place names at all but names of trades or businesses. I can only guess what these businesses may have been, but a clue is furnished by the inscription itself; the official in question was "*collectus arcae Galliarum*" what more natural than that he should be patron of the *arkariori* of Lyons! These would obviously be keepers of safe deposit houses, the name, the spelling of which might vary considerably, being derived from *arceo*, to protect. Similarly *cond—tium* strongly suggests derivation from *condo*, to store away, or possibly *condio*, to preserve. The control of transport and storage corporations by a common "patron" bespeaks the modernity of the Roman Empire.

LEVASSEUR, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, Vol. I, p. 79, states that the *nautae* were in the service of the *annona*, and probably had duties and privileges similar to those of the *navicularii*.

BESNIER, in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *loc. cit.*, gives a very excellent short study of the *navicularii* and *nautae*. He emphasizes their connection with the *annona*, and shows how this relation gradually transformed them from independent merchants into strictly controlled state functionaries.

²⁹ SIDONIUS, *Epis.* Bk. VI, ep. XII.

³⁰ Cf. LEVASSEUR. *Hist. des classes ouvrières*. Vol. I, p. 83.

³¹ C.I.L. XII, 3316-3317.

with the duty of gathering the local *annona* and forwarding it to Arles.³²

There is also in this conception of the function of the *nautae* a possible explanation of the curious fact that there is only one inscription, and that one questionable, referring to any such body on the Loire³³ and none to *nautae* on the Garonne. Both streams are much more navigable than the Rhône, the second connects the two ports of Bordeaux and Narbonne and would seem to be an ideal line of traffic but the flow of both rivers is in the wrong direction to float foodstuffs to the *navicularii* of the Mediterranean. As for the colleges of watermen on the tributaries of the Rhine, it is evident that they would carry the imperial food taxes from their districts not to Rome but to feed the important colony of Cologne and the legions of the German frontier.³⁴ In the same way the imperial palace and the garrison quartered at Paris explain the need of the *nautae parisiaci*, which are shown by their name to have been primarily a local body, supplying the city. But these *nautae* who merely provisioned Gaul apparently never reached the status of those of the Rhône system who helped to feed the metropolis itself.

Throughout the dark ages the rivers of France continue

³² BOISSIEU, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 386-37 also considers that the *nautae* may have been public functionaries. In this connection the inscription C.I.L.XIII, 1979 referring to a "corpus annonariorum ripariorum in Lugdunum" is interesting, though its genuineness, or at least its interpretation has been seriously questioned. LEVASSEUR, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 72, mentions a fragment of stone with the inscription NAUTA ARARICUS H.M.S.L.H.N.S. and the representation of a man unloading a two-horse cart. This would indicate that the *nautae* were not limited to water traffic. He states that this monument is reproduced by STEYERT, *Nouvelle Hist. de Lyon*, Vol. I, p. 250, a work to which I have not had access. It is also reproduced in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *loc. cit.* Fig. 5262.

³³ See p. 8, note 28.

³⁴ Cologne was granted the *jus italicum* at an early date. (cf. TACITUS, *Ann. XII*, 27.) Under Augustus eight out of the total of twenty-five legions were stationed along the Rhine, two more were added under Claudius and Nero; in general there were from seven to eleven.

to carry provisions down to the cities on their banks. In 510 the Burgundians shipped three boatloads of grain to Arles, which had been starved by a hard siege;⁵⁵ and when the citizens of Paris were reduced to dire straits by the ravages of the Franks, Saint Genevieve is said to have brought provisions down the Seine from Troyes to feed the city.⁵⁶ Still later, in the feudal subdivision of the state functions, beside the judicial and fiscal powers granted to certain monasteries by royal charters of "immunities," we find the boats of these monasteries granted freedom from all river taxes.⁵⁷ These boats could hardly have

⁵⁵ VAISSETE, *Hist. de Lang.*, Vol. I, p. 546; *Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études.* Vol. 103, p. 97.

⁵⁶ *Vita S. Genov.* (AA. SS. 3. Jan., cap. VII, p. 141) "Factum est autem ut Genovefa in Arciacense oppidum navali evectione ad comparandum annonam proficeretur" cf. also Cap. VII, p. 146.

⁵⁷ In some cases the number of boats is unlimited "ut immunes ab omni teloneo naves quotquot sunt necessariae per alveum Ligeris [et per] Carum, Vigenam, Meduanam, Sartam, Sequanem et—vel per cetera diversa flumina ob necessitates ipsius Monasterii fulciendas discurrere—" (charter of Charles the Bald, 843 to the monastery of Corméry. BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. VIII, p. 450. cf. also a charter of Charles the Bald to the Abbey of St. Germain in 846, *Ibid.* p. 484); sometimes the tax exemption is extended to carts and pack animals throughout France, either belonging to the monastery or to outside merchants bringing goods to the monastery; "—exactiones de omnibus navibus, quae per universa flumina tam per aquam ultra Ligerim, tam ad surrectum quam et ad descensum navigare videbantur, necnon de omnibus carris vel saugmariis, qui pro eorum utilitate ad Massiliam, vel ad Petariam, seu per diversos portus,—sive mercatus negotiandi gratia advenissent—" (Charter of Charles the Bald, 844, to the Abbey of St. Denis. *Histor. de France*, Vol. VIII, p. 454); sometimes while unlimited land traffic is permitted the number of boats allowed the monastery is limited. "—tres naves per diversa Imperii sui flumina pro necessitatibus ipsius Ecclesiae et Monachorum in eodem loco Deo servientium discurrentes per ipsum suum praecettum confirmasset, et ab omni fiscali censi in sua eleemosyna immunes fecisset: similiter et de carris et de saugmariis memorati loci vel Monachorum ibidem Deo famulantium, et de diversis negotiis quae in villulis ipsius loci sunt, necnon et de omni commercio undecumque fiscus teloneum exigere poterat, egisset.—Naves vero tres quae sive per fluvium Ligeris,—sive per cetera flumina regni nostri ob utilitatem et necessitatem ipsius loci discurrent—" (Charter of Charles the Bald to the monastery of Mici, 840. *Histor. de France*. Vol. VIII, p. 427 and similarly in one to the Abbey of St. Mesmin, near Orléans, of 828. *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 556.)

been engaged in general commerce, as the royal opposition to monastic business enterprise was at that time very strong;³⁸ they must have been used principally, if not wholly, to collect the provisions necessary to the monastery from its various priories and tenant properties.

The gap between the *nautae parisiaci* and the *marchands de l'eau* of XIIth century Paris is too great to permit assurance that there is any corporate descent of one from the other, but if the function of both bodies was to provision Paris, there is nothing impossible in a continuous corporation, as this function must have been continually necessary throughout the intervening centuries.³⁹ In any case boats were abundant at and about Paris in the tenth century, for according to Richer⁴⁰ at least seventy-two were collected in one spot to prevent a hostile army from finding means to cross. According to the same account these boats could each be managed by a single man, so that ten men

³⁸ Monks are expressly forbidden to engage in trade by Charlemagne, (Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle, year 789, Lib. I, ch. XXII "nec monachi, nec clericci, nec presbyteri in saecularia negotia transeant.") Moreover, the charters expressly state that the privilege is granted to supply the *needs*—“*ob necessitates—pro necessitatibus*”—of the monasteries to which they were granted, see quotations in preceding note.

³⁹ Cf. PIGEONNEAU. *Hist. du commerce*. Vol. I, p. 115, Note 2, and LEVASSEUR *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, p. 61.

PICARDA. *Les marchands de l'eau*, (*Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études*, fasc. 134) maintains with much good argument that while the *nautae* were true rivermen, the *marchands de l'eau* were a corporation formed to police the river traffic at the time of the Norman invasion, and did not themselves handle the river craft. But obviously there would be no need for police if the river traffic had ceased to exist; so that M. Picarda's thesis would indicate a body of watermen continuing from the *nautae* to the middle ages, with a new body of *marchants de l'eau* which from the tenth century assumes control of their traffic. It is not impossible that the second body was a special development from the first, its functions being transferred from the hands of the transporters of merchandise to the merchants permanently settled in the city of Paris; as at the present day most of our shipping has passed from the hands of captains who were owners and masters as well, to commercial corporations situated on dry land.

⁴⁰ RICHER, *Hist.* Bk. II, ch. LVII.

were able to bring all seventy-two across the Seine in eight trips. One boat at least must have been large enough to carry ten men, but none could have been very much larger than that. The earliest mention of the *marchands de l'eau* is a charter of Louis VI dated 1121, granting them a tax of 60 *sous* on each boat load of wine brought to Paris in vintage time,—a tax which had formerly been collected by the king.⁴¹ In 1170 the corporation secured ground for a new port by granting the abbess of Haute-Bruyère a tax of one *mine* on every boat load of salt, and a hundred herrings on every boat load of salt fish.⁴² And a little later Philip-Augustus granted them a monopoly of the trade in wine brought by water.⁴³ By the XIIIth century the shipping trade of Paris had grown to such dimensions that it was found necessary to establish a third port. The expenses of this were raised by a tax of ten *sous* on every boat-load of wine passing under the bridge of Paris or coming down stream that far. For boats coming up-stream the following tariff was established:⁴⁴

"*LX sol. quos tempore vendemiarum de unaquaque navi vino onerata Paris. capiebamus, mercatoribus ita in perpetuum dimittimus* :—LEROY, *Dissertation sur l'origine de l'hôtel de ville* (*pièce justificatif No. I.*).

"*Ibid. Pièce just. No. 2.*

"*Ordonn. XI, 269.*

"*Ordonn. XI, 303* dated 1213. A schedule of tolls of the abbey of St. Vaast at Arras (VAN DRIVAL, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Vaast d'Arras*, p. 165; pub. in FAGNIEZ *op. cit.* No. 98) dated 1036, lays a tax of two deniers on each cart-load of wheat or other produce and one of three deniers on a load of salt. In the same schedule wine is also taxed two deniers per load. For equal bulk wine and wheat bore the same tax, while that on salt was half again as heavy. If we compare with this ratio of taxes the toll of three *sous* per boat-load for wheat and five for salt in 1213 and that of sixty *sous* on a boat-load of wine in 1121, it would appear that the value of money had greatly increased during the XIIth century or that taxes were much lowered—both of which are improbable—or else that a load of wine coming down stream was much larger than one of wheat or salt coming up-stream. It seems to me that the wine barges being carried by the current were probably little more than rafts, and might be of considerable size. While the boats coming up-stream against the current would have to be much smaller, and would very likely be

Salt,	per boat-load,	5 sous
Garlic,	" "	4 "
Split Oak Staves,	" "	3 "
Wood,	" "	12 deniers
Hay,	" "	2 "
Wheat,	" "	3 "

Wood, wine and provisions seem to have comprised the bulk, if not the sum total of the commerce on the Seine in the XIII century, as on the Rhône ten centuries earlier. All the wine presumably came down stream to Paris, (it is to be noticed that there is no tariff for wine coming up-stream,) while the salt and herrings presumably came from the sea.⁴⁵ There is a suggestion, therefore, that the earliest port, that of the Grève, purchased from the king in 1141 was for down-stream produce and that the "port Pepin" purchased in 1170 was specifically for up-river traffic, the third opposite the Louvre being for both. The up-river traffic can hardly have become important before the XIIth century.⁴⁶ Even in the XIIIth century up-river traffic seems not to have been general, for the *Registre des Métiers*

rowed by one or two men. It is moreover hard to imagine garlic being brought to town in such frequency as to pay a standard toll unless each load was moderate in size.

⁴⁵ *Inquesta utrum cives Rothmag. possint ducere de ponte Medant. versus Paris. mercaturas suas, scilicet sal, alecia, et alia per aquam, etiamsi non sint de societate mercatorum Paris.; probatum est quod non. Olim, I, p. 50, XXVII, ann. 1250.* Compare also the decisions of the *prévôt des marchands*, cited by DEPPING, (*Introduction aux reg. des mét.*) which refer to wine brought down-stream and herrings brought up-stream. (Cited also by LEVASSEUR, *Hist. des cl. ouvrières* Vol. I, p. 360, Note 2, and p. 362, Note 1. See also *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 361, referring to salt brought up to Auxerre.)

⁴⁶ In 1187 the *marchands de l'eau* secured an agreement with the Sire de Poissy by the terms of which he was to allow them free passage past Maisons in return for a tax of twelve *deniers* on each cask of wine and the right to extract two *setiers* (about two gallons) from the first cask; this wine must have been all carriel down-stream and there is no mention of any tax on any other produce. DEPPING, *Introduction aux reg. des mét.*; LEVASSEUR, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*. Vol. I, p. 357.

of Etienne Boileau specifies that wine of any sort being brought up the Marne shall pay whatever tariff the king's officers choose to levy.⁴⁷ Later this was fixed at two *sous tournois* a cask. The long conflict between the hances of Paris and Rouen is also illustrative of the direction of river commerce. At the beginning of the XIIth century the river men of Paris had the monopoly of commerce from Auxerre down to Mantes, less than half-way to Rouen, while from that point it belonged to the Rouennais. But in 1170 Louis VII granted the latter the right to bring their boats empty as far as Le Pecq, just below Paris, and send them down-stream again loaded.⁴⁸ Obviously the XIth century commerce on the Seine was from the head waters down to Paris, and then after an interval down again to Rouen.

What was true of Paris and the Seine was of course true of the relations of other cities to the traffic on the rivers that watered them. It is very clearly shown in the case of the traffic of Mayence, where grain was imported to the city by the river Main and exported to upper Germany by other means.⁴⁹

All this indicates that up until the XIIIth century the water ways of France did not constitute through traffic routes from one end of the country to the other but served chiefly to carry local provisions to the cities built upon their banks; and further that these provisions usually came down stream, the

⁴⁷ *Tout li vins, queque il soit, qui vait contremont Marne, il doit de coustume tant come li constumiers qui la coustume garde de par lou royst en veut prendre, la quelle chose seroit à amender se il plait au royst.* (*Reg. des mét.*, V. 301.) The charter of Charles the Bald to the Monastery of St. Denis quoted on p. 12, Note 37, specifically states “—*tam ad surrectum quam et ad descensum navigare*—” which indicates that there was enough up-river trade to Paris to make it worth mentioning, and that it was not implied in the general term *navigare*.

⁴⁸ LEROY, *op. cit.* pièce just. No. 3, confirmed in 1315, 1351, 1369; cf. LEVASSEUR. *Hist. des cl. ouvières*, Vol. I, Bk. III. ch. VIII.

⁴⁹ “*Mercatores quidam de civitate maguntiaca qui frumentum in superioribus Germaniae partibus emere ac per fluvium Maenum ad urbem ducere solebant.*” (Translation de S. Marcellin et S. Pierre, 39, ed. TEULET, p. 258.)

barges or rafts which bore them being towed back empty or lightly laden,⁵⁰ or in the case of the Rhône being probably sold for lumber.

On the other hand there is positive evidence that from the beginnings of Gallic history land routes were used to some extent for through traffic. Diodorus states that⁵¹ the tin of England, its most important early export, was shipped across the channel from the Isle of Wight, and thence was carried on horse back, in thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhône. He also says that the wine of Italy, brought by merchants into Gaul, was distributed up and down the rivers and through the country on carts.⁵² The letter of Sidonius to Bishop Patiens proves that in the Vth century at least, the roads were used for carrying grain from the Mediterranean to the Saône.⁵³ Again the exemption from toll granted by Charles the Bald to the Abbey of St. Denis,⁵⁴ not only for its boats but for "all carts and pack-animals which journey on their service to Marseilles or to *Petaria*⁵⁵ or to other ports," points to land traffic from one end of the country to the other.

Now if land traffic predominates over water traffic, the second role of the rivers, that of acting as barriers, becomes of great importance. We would expect it to cause roads to run on the highlands rather than in the deep valleys which the water has cut in the ancient soil of France; we would expect

⁵⁰ This was probably the chief use of the tow path along the Seine referred to on p. 6.

⁵¹ DIODOEUS. SIC. Bk. V, 22.

⁵² *Ibid.* Bk. V, 26.

⁵³ SIDONIUS, *op. cit.* Bk. VI, ep. XII—"Vidimus angustas tuis frugibus vias, vidimus per Araris et Rhodani ripas, non unum quod unus implevaras, horreum—". The passages—"granariis tuis duo potius flumina, quam duo navigia complesti" and—"non opportunitas fluvii—ad-duxit—" seem to imply water traffic but may simply refer to transports along waterways.

⁵⁴ See Note 37, p. 12.

⁵⁵ St. Pierre-lès-Calais (?)

the roads to follow the great streams only when these are free from tributaries,—for every tributary means a ferry or a bridge or a ford, and bridges are easier to build and fords to find where streams are small than where they empty into the greater rivers. Wherever a bridge is necessary we would expect a town to grow, since traffic is forced to pass that way, and where the rivers are really great the necessary bridges should become the foci for the traffic of wide areas, and markets and large cities should spring up there, fed by the gold which settles from the retarded stream of commerce.

The history of the early roads seems to agree exactly with these expectations. Little is known of the pre-Roman roads, though they are said to have followed the uplands rather than the valleys.⁵⁶ The earliest Roman road was the *via Domitia* running from Spain through *Gallia Narbonensis* to the Rhône, built probably 118 B.C.⁵⁷ From the opposite bank of the Rhône two roads led into Italy, the *via Aurelia* along the coast to Genoa, existing certainly before Caesar,⁵⁸ and the road over the Alps by the pass of *Mons Matrona*⁵⁹ (Mont Genèvre) whereby Hannibal probably had led his army in 219 B.C.⁶⁰

The earliest itinerary which has been published is that from the Pyranees to Turin, as given on four silver vases of the first or second century of our era.⁶¹ On all four the road parallels the coast by Narbonne, Béziers and Mont Basin, and passing through the important city of Nîmes, reaches the Rhône at Beaucaire. At this point there is a variation, one route crossing by water, one reaching St. Gabriel in an indeterminate fashion, and two following the river bank down stream for

⁵⁶ LAVISSE, *Hist. de France*. Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 32 and 95.

⁵⁷ DESJARDINS, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, Vol. IV, ch. VII, § 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 167 and Note 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid. loc. cit.* Note 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 86-93.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, ch. 1.

some eight miles (13.33 k.) to Arles, and then turning sharply up again along the east bank to St. Gabriel. The inference is that an ancient ferry⁶² between Beaucaire and Tarascon had continued the *via Domitia* directly across the Rhône,⁶³ but that later a bridge having been built at Arles, a large part of the traffic was willing to go the longer way around in order to gain the easier crossing. As Arles at that time was a twin city, built on both banks of the river,⁶⁴ the connecting bridge must have been essential to its existence. Cassiodorus writes in terms which suggest that the chief reason for the city is to maintain the bridge,⁶⁵ and to Ausonius it forms a market square, where the commerce of the Roman world gathers to enrich this "little Rome" and the other cities of Gaul and Aquitaine.⁶⁶

In an itinerary of 333 A.D. from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, the road runs from Nîmes diagonally down to Arles without going to Beaucaire, and then up along the east bank of the Rhône:⁶⁷ and in the itinerary of Antoninus, of the II-IV

"It was probably at this point that Hannibal found the great number of native wherries and log canoes mentioned by POLYBIUS, (III, 42,2;) and LIVY, (XXI, 26,8.) The statement of the latter that the same tribe was situated on both sides of the river here, indicates constant and easy crossing.

"STRABO states that Nîmes is situated on the road from Spain to Italy, about one hundred stadia from the Rhône, on the other side of which is Tarascon (IV, 1, 12) but there is no mention of Arles.

" "*Pande, duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus,
Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam
Accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis,
Praecipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis,
Ut median facias navali ponte plateam
Per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis
Nec cohibus, populosque alios et moenia ditas,
Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitania lato.*"
(AUSONIUS, *Ordo urbium nobilium.*)

" "*Arelate est civitas supra undas Rhodani constituta, quae in Orientis prospectum tabulatum pontem per nuncupati fluminis dorsa transmittit*"
Bk. VIII, ep. 10.

" See Note 64.

" DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol IV, p. 34.

centuries, A.D. the road from the Alps to Spain crosses the Rhône at Arles and instead of following the west bank to Beaucaire cuts diagonally up to Nîmes.⁶⁸ The Table of Peutinger, however, which though actually drawn in the XIIIth century may follow the *Orbus pictus* of Agrippa, of the first century before Christ,⁶⁹ shows Beaucaire on the road between Nîmes and Arles.⁷⁰ From the beginning of our era, then, the bridge at Arles gradually drew all the traffic from Spain to Italy out of its earlier route and lead it with increasing directness through its markets. There is little wonder that in spite of its inferior port, Arles rose to the foremost commercial and political rank. But in the XIIth century Beaucaire comes to life again, the fairs held there attracting merchants from the ends of the Mediterranean, from Aquitaine and from England; at the same time the greatness of Arles declines.⁷¹ Why this change? I strongly suspect, though I cannot prove it, that in the XIth century a bridge was built across the Rhône at Beaucaire, re-establishing the earlier route, and as this was the shorter, traffic again swung north.

From Arles another great highway, built by Agrippa in 22 B.C., ran north to Lyons and south to Marseilles.⁷² Though following closely along the Rhône, it is not necessarily dependent upon the waterway, as the plain of Provence is too narrow to permit two distinct traffic lines. The presence of Tarascon, Avignon, Orange, Valence and Vienne, all on the east bank of the river, while no town of importance is to be found on the other side above Beaucaire, indicates both the absence of bridges between Arles and Lyons and the dependence of towns upon the

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 64.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 79.

⁷⁰ Two milestones of Augustus have been found marking the road between Nîmes and Beaucaire (DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 176).

⁷¹ cf. NOEL, *Hist. du commerce du monde*, Vol. I, p. 82.

⁷² STRABO, IV, vi, 11.

road rather than on the river. Orange lies about a mile from the Rhône at the crossing of the Eygues, Valence at the junction with the road coming from Italy over the Mont Genève pass, and Vienne where another descent from the pass together with the road over the Little St. Bernard pass (the *Graius Mons*)⁷³ joined the highway to Lyons.

Lyons itself obviously owes its greatness to its situation at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône; but not so much because these rivers served to bring commerce to its wharves, as because by holding the bridges across them the city became the gateway between the *Provincia* and all of Gaul beyond. Behind lay the civilization built up through six hundred years by the Phoceans and the Romans, beyond the barrier of the rivers lay "long haired Gaul" still restive—in 43 B.C. when *Lugdunum* was founded—under the recent yoke of Caesar. On one side secure from the barbarians, on the other in close communication with Rome and Roman Gaul, this frontier post promptly became one of the great cities of the Empire, the administrative center of farther Gaul with the central treasury and the residence of the governors. Beside the highway leading to this provincial capitol from Arles, Agrippa built three others radiating out across the newer conquests.⁷⁴ The first ran west through Aquitaine to the country of the *Santoni*. Presumably it is the route indicated on the Table of Peutinger, which, climbing the Cévennes by the valley of the Brevenne, an easy pass just to the west of Lyons, reaches the Loire at Feurs (*Forum Segusiorum*). Instead of continuing due west across the mountains of the Forez, the road appears to have followed the left bank

⁷³This was probably the oldest of the Alpine passes. (cf. DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 75;) Strabo describes it as being practicable for vehicles, though longer than that by the Great St. Bernard. (STRABO, IV, vi. 11.)

⁷⁴STRABO, *loc. cit.*

of the river to a point a little beyond Roanne,⁷⁸ then turned west, to cross the Allier at Vichy, and south again to Clermont-Ferrand. From Clermont the road skirted to the north of the volcanic Monts Dôme, then northwest, crossing the Creuse at Ahun, and by the line of the present railway, to Limoges upon the Vienne. From here on there are no natural difficulties, so the line runs almost due west to Saintes. The course of this road is dictated largely by the mountainous country through which the first part runs. There are no rivers of much size either to be followed or crossed, yet Feurs and Vichy, towns of second rank, marked the passage of the Loire and the Allier, and Limoges at the crossing of the Vienne was the most important town between Clermont and Saintes. The second and third roads of Agrippa ran from Lyons to the north and western

⁷⁸ DESJARDINS (*op. cit.* Vol. IV, pl. X) assumes the road to have run straight from Lyons to Roanne and to have crossed the Loire at that point, stating in a note on p. 147 that the route *via* Feurs—which is clearly shown on the Table itself—is due to the error of a copyist. I cannot see the slightest necessity for such an assumption. Considering the difficulties presented it would seem hardly reasonable to build a second road across the mountains of the Lyonnais so near to the natural pass leading to Feurs. Furthermore, a continuation of the road from Feurs to Roanne along the left bank of the Loire, crossing at *Aquae Bormonis*, and of another road south from Toulon-sur-Arroux crossing the Loire near Marnigny and then running west *via* *Ariolica* to *Vorocium*, would connect the two points *Aquae Bormonis* and *Telonnum* which are left unconnected in the list on p. 141. This would place the unidentified *Sitillia* at the crossing of these roads, at approximately the present Martigny. The distance from here to Toulon-sur-Arroux corresponds perfectly with the 27 leagues given in the Table, *Pocrino* coming approximately at Paray-le-monial. From *Sitillia* to Decize the distance given in the Table is 46 leagues, or 102 kilometers, the distance by river from Martigny to Decize is between 80 and 90 kilometers; the discrepancy is inconsiderable. The distance of 30 leagues given in the Table from *Decetia* to *Aquae Bormonis* and 13 leagues from there to *Sitillia* if transposed would make *Aquae Bormonis* correspond with Bourbon-Lancy, which it cannot possibly do without some such change. Altogether these two suggested links agree perfectly with the Table of Peutinger. Moreover, they connect Lyons with Decize, and Clermont with the roads to the north through Autun, and some such connections must certainly have existed.

territories, or as Strabo⁷⁶ puts it, toward the Ocean and the Rhine. A little further on, however, he adds that these two roads separate in the country of the *Lingones*. From Lyons, therefore, there was apparently only a single road which ran along the west bank of the Saône to Chalon,⁷⁷ then leaving the river, in a nearly direct line to the fork at Langres; from here the western road continued in the same direction to Toul on the Moselle, crossed this river at Pont-à-Mousson to Metz and ran straight on to Trèves; here it may have crossed again and gone on to Cologne or turned east to reach the Rhine at Bingen and Mayence.⁷⁸ The other road Strabo tells us reached the Ocean through the countries of the *Bellovaci* and the *Ambiani*. Probably it is the route shown on the Table of Peutinger from Langres to Rheims, crossing the Marne at Châlons; then nearly straight on again by Soissons and Noyon to Amiens and from there turning north to reach the channel at Boulogne-sur-Mer. The line of this road was continued southeast from Langres to Italy, crossing the Saône at Seveux and the Doubs at Besançon, over the Jura mountains to Orbe, around the east end of Lake Geneva, and up the Great St. Bernard pass to Aosta. This road also is described by Strabo.⁷⁹

Both of these highways, from Lyons to Cologne and from Aosta to Boulogne, are surprisingly straight, and neither seems greatly affected by rivers. The first parallels the Saône from Lyons to Chalon and in a rough way the Moselle from Toul

⁷⁶ loc. cit.

⁷⁷ Between Lyons and Chalon-sur-Saône the important towns are all on the west bank of the river, as below Lyons they were all on the east bank. Obviously the road crossed at Lyons, and ran along the west bank to Chalon; also apparently there were no bridges between Lyons and Chalon.

⁷⁸ DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 168, gives this route as following the Saône to Dôle and as reaching the Rhine between Mayence and Andernach, perhaps at the mouth of the Moselle; but he gives no authority for such routes. The route I have given is that shown by DESJARDINS himself on the Table of Peutinger and also on the Itinerary of Antoninus.

⁷⁹ loc. cit.

to Trèves, but the greater part of its course lies over fairly level country unbroken by large streams. The only important river crossings are those at Pont-à-Mousson and at Trèves. Trèves, to judge from Ausonius, was in the fourth century the most important town in northern Gaul; it is the only one he mentions in his *Ordo urbium nobilium*.⁶⁰ At Trèves the broad stream of the Moselle, he says, carries the far commerce of the whole world.⁶¹ The Aosta-Boulogne route does not follow any large stream in any part of its course, nor in its central section is it affected by river barriers. But to the south, Besançon, and to the north Châlons-sur-Marne, Soissons and Noyon mark important crossings, and Amiens⁶² on the narrow Somme gets its Roman name, *Samarobriva*, from a bridge across that stream, the *Samara*.

One other road of prime importance existed at this stage. Though not mentioned by Strabo, a milestone of Augustus found at Saint-Couat proves that the route from Narbonne to Bordeaux was under imperial care.⁶³ This route is an extraordinary example of the relations of Roman roads to rivers. From Narbonne it follows the valley of the little Aude, which it crosses at Carcassonne, and then runs in nearly a straight line overland to reach the Garonne at Toulouse. If the Garonne carried the quantity of trade between Narbonne and Bordeaux that is generally ascribed to it, one would expect the highway to hug the

⁶⁰ The cities included are given in this order: Rome; Constantinople and Carthage; Antioch and Alexandria; Trèves; Milan; Capua; Aquileia; Arles; Seville, Cordova, Tarragona and Braga; Athens; Catania and Syracuse; Toulouse; Narbonne; Bordeaux.

⁶¹ *Largus tranquillo praelabitur amne Mosella,
Longinqua omnigenae vectans commercia terrae.*
(*Ordo. Urb. Nob.* 33-34.)

⁶² It is surprising that Langres at the crossing of these two highways never developed into a town of great prominence. See below pp. 94, 95.

⁶³ DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 169ff, note 1, citing ALLMER *Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France* No. 13, April-May 1881, p. 204, No. 234.

stream from this point, as the modern railway does. But such is not at all the case; for the Garonne receives many affluents along its course, on both sides. To avoid the difficulty of these near their mouths, the road crosses at Toulouse and then strikes west, well up toward the roots of the Pyranees, crossing the Save, the Gimane, the Gers, the Bayse, where they are small; and then, to avoid the Adour and its estuaries, turning north along an upland between watersheds to reach the Garonne at Langon, some thirty miles above Bordeaux.⁸⁴ Such at least was the route taken, in the reverse direction, by the pilgrim from Bordeaux to Jerusalem in the IVth century.⁸⁵

It seems, then, that land traffic was much more important than water traffic in developing the cities of France. And therefore since the water-courses exerted little influence in keeping the main lines of intercourse unchanged throughout the centuries, routes could grow, shift and die with changing human influences, political, economic and spiritual.

"An interesting parallel is furnished by the Loire; the Table of Peutinger indicates a road following it closely on the right bank from Decize to its mouth. On this side there are no affluent streams except the Maine which it crossed at Angers. On the other side however there are many affluents and consequently the nearest parallel road is fifty miles or more south.

⁸⁴ *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pub. by the *Soc. de l'orient latin*. Série Géog. Vol. I. cf. DESJARDINS, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, ch. 4 and pl. VII. The Table of Peutinger shows this route as far west as Eauze, at which point the edge of the sheet is reached; it also shows a north and south road crossing the Garonne at Agen and the Toulouse-Eauze route at Auch. From Agen a road is shown following the Garonne down to Bordeaux, and a short cut from Toulouse reaching the north-south road at Lectoure. This would give a second route, Toulouse-Lectoure-Agen-Bordeaux, closer to the river and with only one additional river crossing, that of the Bayse. The north-south road and that from Agen to Bordeaux are also given in the Itinerary of Antoninus, but curiously enough there is no road shown to Toulouse nor from there to Narbonne. The suggestion is strong that traffic between Bordeaux and Narbonne had lost much of its importance under the later empire. The route given in the pilgrims' itinerary was probably along the early highway which had continued as the line of through traffic for four centuries.

The first evidence of these routes, the Table of Peutinger, shows a network of roads of fairly even density interconnecting all parts of Gaul.⁶⁶ In the mountainous region of Cantal, Puy-de-Dôme and eastern Corrèze, roads were lacking; a railroad map of modern France shows the same area less developed than the rest of the country. Another roadless stretch was occupied by the forest of the Ardennes, which stretched from Sedan north along the Meuse to Nemur and west across Luxemburg to the Trèves-Cologne highway. Rheims appears the greatest traffic center of Gaul, with eight roads radiating from it; one north, one west, one south, the rest from northeast to southeast. And against the general net work of roads the early highways still stand out clearly, marked by the directness with which a through course is run from edge to edge of Gaul. Military highways to provide the quickest possible transportation, they must have formed the basis for all later developments.

The skeleton of early Gallo-Roman communications consists then of five nearly straight trunk lines:

No. 1—From Spain by the coast to Arles, thence by the coast to Genoa or by Mont Genèvre to Turin.

No. 2—From Arles to Cologne.

No. 3—From Aosta to Saintes *via* the Little St. Bernard pass, following No. 2 from Vienne to Lyons.

No. 4—From Aosta to Boulogne-sur-Mer, crossing No. 2 at Langres.⁶⁷

No. 5—From Narbonne to Bordeaux.

Upon this basis traffic might have developed in almost any direction, and already in the later empire the Itinerary of An-

⁶⁶ There were certainly some important roads which are not given, such as that between Senlis, Paris and Orléans. Perhaps these were too late for the table of Peutinger and had lost their importance by the time the later itinerary was composed.

⁶⁷ An easier, though slightly longer, way across the Alps followed the Little St. Bernard pass from Aosta to Albertville, then by Ugines, Annecy and the north shore of Lake Geneva to join the main road near Lausanne.

toninus shows a marked shifting of currents. Military necessity no longer requires ready and constant traffic between the Capital and south or western Gaul. The frontier lies along the Rhine and in Brittain. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a road along the Rhine has become of the utmost importance and that the great majority of roads given lie to the north of Chalon-sur-Sâone and to the east of the Seine.^{**} As Provence lost its importance as the seat of Rome in Gaul, roads from all quarters tended more directly toward the metropolis. The Itinerary of Antoninus shows no road along the Rhône between Arles and Valence, and the routes from Lyons to Saintes and from Narbonne to Bordeaux have entirely disappeared. At the same time a short-cut is shown from Albertville by Ugines and Annecy to Lake Geneva, so that by the easy Little St. Bernard pass

^{**} A schedule of the routes given by the Itinerary of Antoninus for Gaul is startling evidence of the shift in the centers of interest between the time of Strabo and that of the late empire. It is reasonable to assume that the more important routes were placed first in the Itinerary. The order is as follows:—

Rhine Valley and Alpine passes

- 3 Through routes from Italy and Bavaria to Trèves and the lower Rhine, by Julier Pass.
- 2 Routes from Italy to Arles, by Cornice and Mont Genève.
- 1 Route from Italy to Vienne, by Little St. Bernard.
- 2 Routes from Italy to Rhine Valley by Little and Great St. Bernard,

Eheims and Northeastern Gaul.

- 1 Through route from Italy to Boulogne-sur-mer by Mt. Genève.
- 3 Short routes from Eheims to the east.
- 1 Short route from Autun to Paris.
- 12 Short routes between towns in and near Flanders.
- 5 Short routes between towns on and near the Seine.
- 2 Short routes from Langres to the east.
- 1 Short route in western Normandy.

Spain, Bordeaux and Southwestern Gaul.

- 1 Through route from Italy to Spain by Mont Genève and Narbonne.
- 1 Short route from Arles to Narbonne.
- 4 Short routes between the Garonne and the Pyrenees.
- 1 Route from Bordeaux to Autun by Poitiers, Bourges and Decize.
- 1 Route from Bordeaux to Agen and north to Argenton.
- 1 Short route from Agen to the Pyrenees.

the roads to Langres and to the Rhine could be reached, instead of by the difficult though slightly shorter way over the Great St. Bernard pass. Even directer access to the Rhine is provided by the Splügen and the Septimer-Julier passes from Como to Bregenz.⁸⁹

Traffic has shifted from the south and west to the north and east, and there is a tendency for all roads to lead directly to Rome instead of to Lyons or to Arles.

⁸⁹ The road by Como, Chiavenna, Tarvesede and Chur to Bregenz is also shown in the Table of Peutinger; cf. SCHULTE, *Geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs*, Vol. I, Bk. 1, pt. 2, ch. 4, for antiquity of Alpine passes from the Great St. Bernard east.

CHAPTER II.

THE JOURNEYS OF KINGS AND POPES.

(*Plate I*)

With the passing of the Roman state in Gaul geographers and itineraries disappear. This was due to some extent, of course, to a lessening of travel, but to a much greater extent to the change in mental attitude. During the dark ages, from the sixth to the middle of the twelfth centuries, interest in liberal learning is at a low ebb; history is reduced to local chronicles, sometimes vivid, often extremely dry, but usually covering only a narrow field around some monastic center. Biography becomes hero-worship, embroidered with many miracles; and the eyes of the geographers see only the Holy Land and the semi-fabulous countries of the east. France is too near at hand, too commonplace, the journeys there over the well established roads too lacking in the marvellous to stir the pens of men who fought the Norman sea-rovers and talked with saints. So it is not until the firm establishment of the Capetian dynasty brings a comparative peace to France, that with a growing order in the political world, a more studious order in mental things reappears. Only then do we find an awakening interest in the geography and the highways of France.

It is a mistake, however, to assume that the intervening centuries knew no local travel; it existed, but was so taken for granted that it was unrecorded. Thus, in the seventh century the monk who wrote of the journey of the French bishop Ar-

culph¹ to Palestine, gives a detailed and valuable account of that country and its holy relics, as well as of the city of Constantinople, but makes no mention of the journeys there and back, save a reference to the terrible volcano, Stromboli.

A century later, Willibald² from Waltham Abbey in England, went with his family to the Holy Land. His adventures in the east and the sacred wonders there, are described in considerable detail, but all we know of his travels in France is that he sailed from near Portsmouth to Rouen, and after having prayed at the shrine of many saints, reached Tuscany. Again, in the latter part of the ninth century Bernard, a French monk,³ journeying with a monk of Beneventum and one from Spain mentions Rome, Mons Garganus, Barrium, Tarentum and Tripoli on his route to Alexandria, and on his return from the east, Mons Aureus and Rome, but his own abbey of Mt. St. Michel is the only spot in France he stops to describe.

By the latter part of the XIIth century interest in geography for its own sake re-awakens. At this time Benjamin of Tudela⁴ describes very fully his trip from Spain to the east. In France he passes by Narbonne, Béziers, Montpellier, Lunel, St. Gilles, Arles and Marseilles, whence he sails to Genoa. In 1187 Gerald of Cambrai produces the first true descriptive geography of the new age, the *Topographia Hiberniae*.⁵ His journey to Rome at the end of the century is also given in some detail. The itinerary of Bernard of Clairvaux down the Rhine to Cologne, west to Valenciennes and south to Clairvaux in 1146-1147, is clearly indicated in the histories of his life.⁶

¹ *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pub. by the SOC. DE L'ORIENT LATIN, série géog. Vol. I, pp. 139, ff.

² *Ibid.* pp. 241, ff.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 309, ff.

⁴ *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, Eng. trans. by A. ASHER.

⁵ *Gerald of Cambrai, Opera*. Ed. BREWER, Rolls Series.

⁶ cf. LUDWIG, *Untersuchungen ü. d. Reise u. Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII u. XIII J.*, pp. 97-100.

and with Mathew Paris in the XIIIth century conscious cartography is fully revived.

Some of the routes which are given at this time are the same as those of Roman Gaul, or closely parallel to them; others are widely different. What had happened in the interval? Had some of the Roman roads been used uninterruptedly while others had been abandoned? Or had traffic merely resumed, after a period of stagnation or change, along some of its ancient routes?

Whatever changes may have occurred, it is certain that traffic never wholly ceased. The armies of the Merovingian kings marched and countermarched over the divided country and more than once crossed into Spain. The Carolingians and Capetians were less diffuse in their internal campaigns, the Northmen serving somewhat to concentrate their activities; but expeditions from northern France to Italy and into Spain were by no means unknown. Pilgrims from England crossed France on the way to Rome. Willibald we have seen skipping from Rouen to Italy, and in the Xth century Flodoard writes of others passing through Rheims.⁷ Even commerce was by no means dead;⁸ in the charter of 629⁹ whereby Dagobert founded the fair of St. Denis, he refers to merchants from Saxony, Frisia, Lombardy, Spain and Provence, and a little later Charlemagne gave assurance of protection to Anglo-Saxon¹⁰ and Italian¹¹ merchants.

What was the route from Spain to St. Denis? How would a pilgrim travel from the shrine of St. Martin at Tours to that of St. Peter in Rome? By what road would an army of the

⁷ FLODOARD *Annales*. Ann. 920, cf. Ann. 923.

⁸ See the article by J. W. THOMPSON, *The Commerce of France in the Ninth century*, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 23, (1915,) pp. 857-887.

⁹ This document may actually date from 759, but it certainly depicts conditions which seemed normal under the Carolingians. PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Dipl. Spuria* No. 23; FAGNIEZ, *op. cit.* No. 83.

¹⁰ *Epist. I Karoli ad Offam. Reg. Mercior.* BOUQUET, *Histor. de Fr.* Vol. V, p. 627.

¹¹ BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. V, p. 588.

Xth century march from "Francia" to Toulouse? No writer of those times answers directly; in the Xth and XIth centuries "civilization" had little leisure to discuss itself. But its needs,—political, commercial and religious,—have left their records, and from these a picture of the traffic-routes of those days can be pieced together.

The first evidence, the fullest and the surest, is the movements of the kings. (See pl. I) These journeys were dictated almost wholly by political, or as it was expressed in those days, military necessity. Many trips were practically campaigns, but some were peaceful, and not deflected in their course from the customary highways of the times. From these we can distinguish at least certain main points of royal visit and certain linking roads between these points.

Under the Merovingians everything is vague, because of the absence of fixed centers of interest in the constant subdivision and reassemblage of the realm. But with the unity of the Carolingians the picture somewhat clears.

The annals of his reign and the charters which Charlemagne signed¹² show that he spent the great part of his time when in Gaul on the Rhine or near it. Worms, Mayence, Cologne, Nymwegen, with excursions west to Thionville in the Vosges and to Herstal on the Meuse, are the towns most frequented. Before 794 Herstal and Worms seem the chief centers of royal activity, after that period Aix-la-Chapelle becomes a true capital, and the greater part of the emperor's time, when not traveling, is spent there. Almost every year there is an expedition east of the Rhine, usually against the Saxons. We find Charlemagne at Worms or Herstal or Thionville before his expeditions and again after, but the itineraries of these expeditions are unknown. In

¹² The data for Charlemagne's journeyings is taken from ABEL-SIMSON, *Jahrb. d. Fränk. Reichs unter Karl d. Gr.* Vol. I-II; cf. also BOUQUET, *Histor. de France.* Vol. V-VI.

782, it is definitely stated, he crossed the Rhine at Cologne, and in 804 he returned from Saxony to that city. In 794, he is at Frankfort on his way back from Bavaria to Aix-la-Chapelle; in 795 at Cufstein near Mayence before going into Saxony; in 803 at Mayence again before going to Bavaria and in 815 returning from Saxony by Paderborn and Mayence. Cologne was apparently the favorite crossing for expeditions into Saxony, and it is probably because the Saxon campaigns were the chief military activities of Charlemagne that he founded his capital near Cologne, at Aix-la-Chapelle. Mayence also provided a gateway to the countries beyond the Rhine, but in this case more especially to the Danube valley, Bavaria and Slavonia. The great interest which Charlemagne showed in the bridge at Mayence is easily understood.¹³

The expeditions into Italy are even less definite than those east of the Rhine. In 773 Charlemagne left Herstal in the spring and was in Pavia in the fall. There is no telling his route, though he probably crossed the Alps by the Splügen-Julier pass or by one further west. Returning the next year from Pavia to Lorch, he followed again an unknown route.

In 775 he reached Treviso from Schlestat, and in 800 Ravenna from Mayence. Both of these journeys probably led over the Tyrolean or Carinthian Alps. The other journeys skip from Worms to Italy and back without any known intermediate stations. When any stop in northern Italy is given, it is Pavia. We can be sure that the high road to Italy followed the left bank of the Rhine to Bâle and that it was neither difficult nor untravelled. But it may have swung west by Lake Geneva and

¹³ The wooden bridge across the Rhine, built by Charlemagne a little below Castel was destroyed by fire in May 813, and Charlemagne commenced at once to rebuild it in stone. (cf. SIMSON, *Ludw. d. Fromme*, Vol. II, p. 195, Notes 1-3.) His death the following year evidently arrested the work, for in the time of the *Poeta Saxo* only the piers were built. (*Ibid.* p. 196, Note 1).

over the great or little St. Bernard pass,¹⁴ or turned east and crossed by the Rhine passes. Either route might lead to Pavia.

In France itself Charlemagne made a few extended trips and several short ones, but the itineraries are all sadly fragmentary. Thus in 769 he set out from Aix-la-Chapelle for Angoulême, passing by Rouen and an unidentified locality called *Duasdives*.¹⁵ From Angoulême he went to Périgueux, Brantôme, Fronsac and Angeac,¹⁶ all within a radius of sixty miles. His next appearance is at Duren, near his starting point. Another trip, in 800, helps to fill up the gaps a little. Leaving Aix-la-Chapelle he journeys "along the coast" to the abbey of St. Riquier and then, crossing the Seine at Rouen, turns south to Tours. He returns from Tours to Aix-la-Chapelle by way of Orléans and Paris. The natural road from Aix-la-Chapelle to Rouen would seem to be by way of Cambrai and Amiens,—the road by the coast and St. Riquier was chosen in this case in order to establish guards against the northern pirates.¹⁷ A road not shown on the Roman maps must have run from the capital to Boulogne-sur-Mer at this time, probably passing by Ghent, for in 811 Charlemagne returns from Boulogne to Aix-la-Chapelle by way of that town.

The only other long trip through France is the expedition of 778 into Spain. This may also have followed the road by Rouen, for leaving Herstal in January, we find the king next at Chasseneuil near Angoulême in April. There is no other detail given of the journey south except that the army reached Pampeluna and Saragossa in Spain. On its return it made eternally famous the pass of Roncesvalles. From this point

¹⁴ See below, p. 92.

¹⁵ Probably in Poitou, see ABEL-SIMSON, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 45 and Note 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 49.

¹⁷ "et in ipso mari, ubi tunc piraticam Nordmanni exercabant, classem instituit." EINHARDT *Annales*; (in BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. V, p. 214 D.)

Charlemagne reached Herstal by way of Auxerre. The road up the valley of the Rhône would have turned east at Chalon-sur-Saône; to pass through Auxerre therefore, he probably went north through Auvergne or through Aquitaine and Berry.

The short trips give scarcely more detail, but are sufficiently numerous to indicate one well travelled road. This ran from Cologne through Duren and Aix-la-Chapelle to Herstal; then it paralleled the Meuse and the Sambre to Valenciennes and then turned south. (See route A, Appendix I) The old Roman road, in existence to-day, runs with inflexible straightness for sixty-five miles from Bavai to Vermand. In the VIIIth century this may have still been the highway, or a less imperial road varying somewhat to suit new interests, may have already come into use. The newer road would pass through St. Quentin to the east of Vermand and probably cross the Oise at Quierzy. From Quierzy one road ran to Soissons and thence to Rheims, while another led on south to St. Denis. This last may have kept to the right bank of the Oise as far as Compiègne and crossing there, passed through Senlis on its way. The forest of the Ardennes accounts for the length of the way around from Aix-la-Chapelle to Rheims via Valenciennes. In the IXth century it must have stretched an almost trackless wilderness across the Meuse nearly to Hirson. Probably another highway led around this forest to the east, for the old Roman road running from Toul by Metz and Trèves down the Moselle to the Rhine, was still used by Charlemagne;¹⁹ and there is also evidence that this road could be reached from Quierzy at Thionville²⁰ and so connect that point with Cologne.

¹⁹ In the Spring of 775 Charlemagne went from Quierzy to St. Denis and back.

²⁰ In the Summer of 805 Charlemagne went from Aix by Metz and Thionville to Remiremont, and returned the following winter by Thionville, the Moselle and the Rhine, to Nymwegen.

* In April 775 Charlemagne was at Quierzy, in May at Thionville, and in June back at Quierzy. In 771 he went from *Carbonacum*—which should

The journeys of Louis the Pious²¹ fill out the itineraries of Charlemagne somewhat and indicate a few roads not shown before. The imperial activities still center about the valley of the Rhine and Aix-la-Chapelle. This city is the one most often mentioned in the annals of Louis' reign and in the "data" of his charters. Next in importance come Ingelheim and Worms on the Rhine, and Frankfort just across from Mayence; and then the hunting resorts of Nymwegen, Thionville and Remiremont. Quierzy is still often visited by the Emperor, but Compiègne becomes of almost equal importance.

From Aix-la-Chapelle the great highway to Italy undoubtedly ran through Cologne and up the Rhine. From this a crossing at Mayence led into Germany,²² and from Cologne perhaps, and Coblenz and Mayence, branch roads meeting at Trèves continued up the valley of the Moselle to the hunting grounds in the Ardennes and Vosges. Trèves, Thionville, Metz and Remiremont mark its route. From it another road struck west at Thionville by Attigny and Corbeny to Compiègne. (See Route B, Appendix I.) Thus the road from Aix-la-Chapelle to "Francia" around the east and south of the Ardennes is now clearly marked. Beside this, the old road from Strassburg to Rheims, by Savern, Metz and Verdun, shown on the Itinerary of Antoninus, is still in use and is continued west through Soissons to Compiègne.²³ From Compiègne three other roads radiated: One to the north, leading to Aix-la-Chapelle, which

probably be *Corbanacum*-Corbeny, between Laon and Rheims—to Attigny; these points would probably be stations on the road from Quierzy to Thionville.

²¹ The data for the journeys of Louis the Pious are taken from SIMSON, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*. Vol. I-11.

²² It is specifically stated that Louis crossed the Rhine at Mayence in the Summer of 832 and again in the Spring of 839, though the stone bridge was not then completed. See p. 33, Note 13.

²³ In 833 Louis having been deposed by his sons at Marlen near Saverne, is taken by Lothaire through Metz, Verdun and Soissons to Compiègne.

is probably merely an extension of the highway of Charlemagne's time circling from Quierzy to the west and north of the Ardennes forest (see Route C, Appendix I); one to the west, by an uncertain route, to Rouen;²⁴ and one to the south by St. Denis to Paris. (See Route D, Appendix I.) This last road crossed the Seine and ran by Orléans and Blois to Tours. Here it divided into two main highways, one paralleling the Loire by Angers to Nantes and Vannes, and the other crossing into Aquitaine.

The through road thus formed, from Aix-la-Chapelle, by Compiègne, Paris and Orléans to Tours, did not, however, supplant the northern one by Amiens, Rouen and Le Mans (see Route E, Appendix I) which seems to have been considered the shorter route.²⁵ As in Charlemagne's time Rouen might be reached directly by Herstal and Cambrai and Amiens or by the coast from Boulogne-sur-Mer and St. Riquier. At the other end of the route the road from Le Mans to Angers seems quite as important at this time as that to Tours. Besides these well-travelled highways, less frequented routes are rather indefinitely suggested by Louis' pursuit of Lothair in 834 and his expedition into Auvergne in 839. On the former occasion the Emperor's itinerary was governed by the retreat of his son's army.

²⁴This route cannot be absolutely established. In 824 Louis goes in 20 days from Compiègne to Rennes, the only indication of his route lies in the fact that on his return he stops at Rouen to rejoin his wife. (EINHARDT *Ann.* "Ratum agum civitatem ubi coniugem se operiri jusserrat—reversus est.") The inference is that he left her there on his outward march. Again in 833 he goes from Le Mans by "*Bes villa*,"—Jan. 8—to Verneuil on the Oise (dept. Oise, arr. Senlis)—Jan. 20. SIMSON (*op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 31, Note 3) assumes that "*Bes villa*" is an unidentified spot northeast of Le Mans and that the king went from there to Paris, then to Chelles, then to Verneuil. On the other hand *Bes villa* may very well be the same as *Basium silvam* the modern *Bézu-la-Forêt* in the Forest of Lyons, a short distance east of Rouen. In this case the king's route would be Le Mans, Rouen, *Bézu-la-Forêt*, Verneuil and then Chelles.

²⁵*Ann. Bert.* 833. "recto itinere Aquis pervenit." (PERTZ. *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* Vol. I, p. 426.)

Lothair first withdrew south from "Francia" to Vienne, while Louis followed from the Vosges to Langres; Lothair then turned north by Chalon-sur-Saône and northwest by Autun to Orléans with Louis pursuing through the country about Troyes, and west through the Beauce and the region of Chateaudun to Blois. Reaching Blois, Lothair again fled northwest to Laval in Maine, and at this point Louis abandoned the chase.

On the journey into Auvergne the Emperor, who had been hunting at Creutznach near Bingen in July, reaches Chalon-sur-Saône by early September. There is no way to tell whether he went by Metz and Langres or up the Rhine and west by Besançon, though the former seems the more travelled road. From Chalon he marches across the Loire to Clermont; his route and his place of crossing are unknown. He next appears at Cartilat (or Carlat) near Aurillac. He must therefore have ascended the Allier and the Allagnon at least as far as Massiac, and crossed the Plomb du Cantal by the Col du Lioran, or gone around it by St. Flour. From Carlat by Turenne to Poitiers the road is again uncertain, no later itinerary indicates any highroad passing through Turenne;²⁷ possibly the visit there marked a digression. But in going afterwards from Poitiers to Soissons we can be fairly sure that the Loire was crossed at Tours and the Seine at Paris.

With Charles the Bald²⁸ the center of royal activities shifts. France from this time ceases to be under the direct control of the Emperor with his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle and becomes a separate kingdom, with eastern boundaries lying along the Meuse and the Saône. The highway by the valley of the Rhine, north to Nymwegen and south to Italy, with important crossings at

²⁷ See however below, p. 97.

²⁸ The data for the journeys of Charles the Bald are taken from BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. VII and LOT and HALPHEN, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve*, in the *Bib'l de l'école des h'tes études* 1909, Fasc. 175.

Cologne and Mayence and lesser ones at Worms and Strasburg continues in use, perhaps more actively than ever, but the king of the Franks does not travel there. Once in 842, before the definite division of the empire, we see him cross the Vosges from Toul by Saverne to Strasburg, and then turn north by Wissembourg and Worms, Hunsrück and Coblenz to Aix-la-Chapelle; a leisurely six weeks journey down the river. From Aix-la-Chapelle he goes by Herstal to Rheims, and after that rarely visits the Rhine. The center now of royal residence, so far as there is any established residence, is Compiègne and the nearby palace of Quierzy. Indeed, after his elevation to the imperial office, Charles makes Compiègne his official capital, rechristening it *Carlopolis*, and building a church to the Virgin there, just as his grandfather had done when he founded his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle. If Charles had not died that very year perhaps the new name might have endured, and Carlopolis become the permanent focus of the French state.

From Compiègne as a center, a road which we have seen, runs north around the northwest of the Ardennes toward Aix-la-Chapelle. It is not often traveled by Charles, but its line is clearly marked. (See Route F, Appendix I.)

The Roman road from Vermand to Bavai has undoubtedly been abandoned by now, the new one running from Quierzy and St. Quentin to Valenciennes, probably through Cambrai, where the road to Arras swings off to the west. A road from Rheims by Corbeny joins this, perhaps at Quierzy.²⁸

The roads to the lower Rhine around the southeast of the Ardennes are rarely used by the king beyond Attigny, though he travels frequently that far. (See Route G, Appendix I.) On the other hand there is reason to believe that a new and

²⁸ A trip in 841 from Rheims to Visé at the doors of Maestricht, passes through Corbeny on the way to St. Quentin. On one occasion also the eastern route by the Moselle is used; Charles going in 865 from Verberie by Attigny to Cologne and returning by Attigay to Quierzy.

more direct road had been opened up from Attigny by Douzi through the forest to Maestricht. Very probably this way followed the course of the Meuse, but as there were no towns in the forest, there are no indications by which the route can be fixed. (See Route H, Appendix I.) ³⁰ Probably also this road was continued south along the river to Verdun and Toul; there was evidently a way, occasionally used, between these points and Attigny. ³⁰

The road due east from Compiègne by Rheims and Verdun to Metz is often used by Charles to reach the eastern boundaries of his kingdom, but not to continue, as his ancestors were wont, to the Rhine. (See Route I, Appendix I.)

From Rheims a road runs south to Châlons-sur-Marne and Ponthion (a little further up the Marne, above Vitry-le-François). Ponthion was apparently a favorite resort of the king's. Here two roads diverge. The eastern one, of secondary importance, runs to Toul and over the Vosges to Saverne and Strasburg. ³¹ The other runs south: it is the old Roman highway through Langres and Besançon by the Little St. Bernard pass into Italy. (See Route J, Appendix I.) ³² This is the road which Charles followed in 875, going in the greatest haste to Rome at the death of Lothair, to make sure of the imperial crown. At

³⁰ A journey in 865 from Verberie by Attigny to Cologne and back by Attigny to Quierzy may have been by this route or by Thionville and the Rhine. Because of the date I should expect the former route.

³¹ On June 17, 859 Charles was at *Tusiacus* near Toul and three days later at Attigny. Again in Feb. 865 he went from "*Tusi*" by Attigny to Servair, and in Aug. 869 from Attigny to Verdun.

³² In 862 Charles comes west from Toul to Ponthion and thence to Quierzy. In 841 he crosses the Auxois from a point near Avallon to Toul and continues over the Vosges to Saverne and Strasburg; such a journey could hardly have failed to pass by Ponthion.

³³ On returning from Italy in 871 Charles is threatened by the army of Carloman and consequently flees southwest from Pavia to Tortona and crosses the Alps by the Mont Cenis pass. Whether his road would have led from here to Lake Geneva and north by Besançon cannot be told, for unfortunately he died at Brios.

Langres the Roman road to the lower Saône and Rhône diverges; it is still in use, though the king rarely visits that section of his realm.²²

The Marne could be crossed at Châlons-sur-Marne as well as at Ponthion. From this point an important highway runs by Troyes to Auxerre and then southeast by Autun to the Saône and the Rhône, just as in the Itinerary of Antoninus. This highway could also probably be reached directly from Rheims at Troyes, crossing the Marne at Epernay and not going by Châlons at all. At Troyes a little used road diverges to Sens,²³ while from Auxerre a new and much more travelled branch crosses the Loire at Cosne and continues to Bourges. (See Route K, Appendix I.)²⁴ Still a third road from Auxerre, only mentioned once in this reign, but quite possibly the one by which Charlemagne returned from Roncesvalles, connects Auxerre with Nevers.²⁵ From Nevers another road runs straight, by Bourges to Tours, cutting off the long bend of the Loire. (See Route L, Appendix I.)

The shift of political interest from Aix-la-Chapelle to Compiègne adds greatly to the importance of the road southwest

²² During December-January 861-62 Charles goes from Mâcon by Beaune, Ponthion and Rheims to Soissons.

²³ In 841 Charles goes from the forest of Othe, near Sens, by Troyes to Attigny.

²⁴ The battlefield of Fontenoy or Thury lies midway between Auxerre and Cosne, Charles came there in 841 from Auxerre, and after the battle went to St. Benoît-sur-Loire presumably by Cosne and the Roman road down the river.

It seems as if the link between Auxerre and Cosne must have existed at the period when the Itinerary of Antoninus was compiled, to connect the two great highways of Aquitaine with the important system of northern roads. It is significant that Cosne (*Condatus*) is marked in the Itinerary on the road along the Loire, though it is not shown on the Table of Peutinger. Cosne is the natural site for a bridge town, as the Loire is divided here by an island. Donzy (*Domitiacus*) and Entrains (*Intaranum*), both Roman towns, lie on a straight line from Pouilly to Auxerre.

²⁵ In 863 Charles set out from Verberie for Aquitaine by way of Auxerre and Nevers, probably passing through Rheims and Châlons.

from there by Paris to Tours. It now becomes definitely more prominent than the outer road from Flanders by Rouen to the Loire: Senlis, St. Denis, Paris and Orléans mark the route, which will be filled with further detail by the travels of later kings. From Orléans one road runs up the Loire to the nearby monasteries of Germigny-des-Prés and St. Benoît-sur-Loire, and on to Beau-Poulli and Nevers (See Route M, Appendix I); while another and more important road leads down to Tours by Meung-sur-Loire, thence by Vernantes across the chord of the bend in the river to Angers, and so into Brittany. (See Route N, Appendix I.) From Angers to Rennes one road apparently ran straight northwest by Chazé-sur-Argos (five miles south of Segré) and a second north along the Mayenne by Chambelley, turning west perhaps at Laval. Another road from Paris runs through Chartres perhaps to Le Mans, with a branch from Chartres to Tours. The evidence for this road is somewhat vague. (See Route O, Appendix I.)²⁷

As with all the other roads from Compiègne, the one running west to Rouen gains greatly in prominence under Charles the Bald. The constant raids of the Danish pirates along the coast and their semi-permanent settlements in and near Rouen make this direct route between the capital and the lower Seine of great importance. After the fall of Rouen to the Northmen, Charles attempted to block the passage to the upper Seine by throwing a fortified bridge across the river at Pîtres.²⁸ This predecessor of the modern Pont-de-l'Arche was begun in 862, but

²⁷ Under the year 856 in the *Ann. Bertin.* (BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. VII, p. 71) is found "—dato illi Ducatu Cenomannico usque ad viam quae a Lotitia Parisiorum Caesaredunum Turonum ducit." The grant to the Duke of Le Mans could hardly have extended to the road between Paris and Orléans, therefore the road referred to here must be that by way of Chartres, evidently a well recognized landmark in the ninth century.

²⁸ Cf. LOT, *Le Pont de Pîtres*, in *Le Moyen Age* 1905, 2nd ser. Vol. IX.

not completed until after 868.³⁹ During this period the Compiègne-Pitres road,—perhaps passing through Beauvais or Gisors, or both,—was frequently travelled by the king. (See Route P, Appendix I.)

The road along the Seine from Paris down stream to Rouen or up stream to Sens is very rarely used. At the very beginning of his reign Charles marched from Rouen to St. Denis and crossing to the left bank at Paris went on up the Seine and Yonne to Sens, where he crossed again to fight in the forest of Othe. Thirty years later, in 871, he journeys from Vienne up the Rhône and the Saône, across to Auxerre, and down the Yonne and Seine by Sens to St. Denis. These are the only occasions on which the famous river route of Strabo's prospectus are followed.

The great northern road swinging from Flanders by Rouen to the Loire is still in frequent use in spite of the constant raids of the Danes along the coast. Probably commercial traffic was even less interrupted than political intercourse.⁴⁰ Rouen, however, was lost to the king and consequently his fortified bridge at Pitres became necessary not only to block the river to the Danish ships, but to keep open the land route across it for the French. This road ran from Valenciennes to Amiens,—by Arras on one occasion, but probably more often by Cambrai,—then to Rouen or Pitres and by Evreux to Le Mans. From here one road, probably the older and more important, ran to Angers and another turned southeastward to Tours, crossing the Loir at Bannes. (See Route Q, Appendix I.)

On the many expeditions of Charles into Auvergne and Aquitaine the distances and the intervals of time between re-

³⁹ Cf. *Ann. Bertin*, ann. 862, 866, 869, 874 and ADO, *Chronicon*, in BOUQUET, *Histor. de Fr.* Vol. VII, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Cf. on the trade relations of the Northmen in France the article of J. W. THOMPSON, *The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century*, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 23, Nov. 1915, p. 858 ff.

corded points of visit are so great that there can rarely be certainty as to the routes he followed.

From Orléans to Clermont and back in 848 the route is clear. Evidently it ascended the Loire to Nevers, crossed at that point and then ran nearly due south to Clermont. But the expeditions from Quierzy to Clermont in 853 and to Auvergne in the following year, present alternate possibilities. There is practically no difference in the distance from Quierzy to Nevers by Paris and Orléans or by Châlons-sur-Marne, Troyes and Auxerre. The latter seems to have been, if anything, the more travelled road. Certainly the return trip of 853 from Clermont to Ponthion passed by Troyes, and probably that of 854 from Auvergne to Attigny also. On the other hand in late August of 854 Charles is at Tours and goes from there "into Auvergne." When next he appears it is on Nov. 1 near Amiens. What is the route from Tours to Auvergne? Probably by Bourges to Nevers and then south. It is possible, however, that the road may have first gone south to Limoges and then followed the Roman route east to Clermont. This ancient road, one of Agrippa's four great highways from Lyons, which had already disappeared from the Itinerary of Antoninus, seems indicated by a journey from Angoulême in 852 to attack the Danes at Autun, but if so, these two are the only references to it.

Besides being the gateway to Auvergne, Nevers is also a gateway to Aquitaine. In 863 Charles sets out from Verberie for Aquitaine, he passes Auxerre and reaches Nevers; a month later he has returned to Compiègne, probably by the same route through Champagne. It is quite possible that many of the so-called trips into Aquitaine refer only to Berry. For example, early in July 841 Charles is at St. Benoît-sur-Loire, while a month later, having visited "Aquitaine," he reappears between Tours and Le Mans. Evidently he merely followed the road from

Bourges to Tours. In 843 he "rides through Aquitaine"⁴¹ in the reverse direction, being on February 23 at Tours and before the end of March at Autun on his way to Verdun. He could hardly have made a trip more extended than that by Bourges to Nevers. On the other hand there is no reason to suppose that Nevers may not also have been a gateway to southern Aquitaine. In 848 Charles leads an expedition to the south against the Northmen who were besieging Bordeaux. On February 23 he is at Tours, on March 1 at Poitiers and before the middle of this month he has captured nine Norman ships on the Dordogne. By the end of March, perhaps at Easter, March 25, he appears at Limoges. From Limoges he hastens at all speed to Quierzy where he is to be found on April 21. How long before this he reached Quierzy we do not know, but it is evident that he wasted no time on the road. From Limoges by Poitiers, Tours and Paris to Quierzy is a little shorter than by Bourges, Cosne, Troyes and Châlons-sur-Marne. There is no definite evidence of this second route being used at this period but it is probably the older of the two, the road from Périgueux to Bourges by Argenton being plainly indicated in the Itinerary of Antoninus, where no road runs through Tours.

The first of these routes is certainly indicated and perhaps the second also in the expedition to Narbonne of 849. From the neighborhood of Chartres, Charles marches to Limoges, presumably by Tours⁴² and Poitiers, and thence to Toulouse. Having taken Toulouse he proceeds to Narbonne, probably over the old road by Carcassonne. Thence by a seven days' journey he reaches Albi, possibly by way of Toulouse, or perhaps by some shorter route. Leaving Albi he appears next at Bourges. For this he may have followed the road through Auvergne by Aurillac and Clermont, already travelled by Louis

⁴¹ *Annales Bertin.* ann. 843 "Karolus Aquitaniam pervagatur."

⁴² LOT and HALPHEN, *Bib'l. de l'école des hautes études.* Fasc. 175, p. 204, note 5.

the Pious in 839,⁴³ or the longer but easier road of Antoninus by Limoges and Argenton.⁴⁴ The route of the expedition of 844 against Toulouse is fairly clear for the southward journey. Leaving Tours the king reaches Limoges in about a week. He appears next at Avens⁴⁵ on the Tarn, between Albi and Toulouse, and after six weeks delay attacks Toulouse. Four months later after a fruitless siege Charles turns north again. By what route he led his retreat is unknown, except that it was through Auvergne. The only datum is a donation dated "in pago *Arvernico in villa Mariscarias*"⁴⁶ and *Mariscarias*⁴⁷ has not yet been identified. It may have been the modern Marçais about twenty-eight miles due south of Bourges near St. Amand-Mont-Rond. If this guess is correct, it would perhaps suggest a road direct from Clermont to Bourges. From Toulouse to Auvergne the road probably ran northeast through Aurillac perhaps by Figeac.⁴⁸ The route of the expedition of 842 is also uncertain. In mid-June Charles was at Mâcon, on August 23 at Agen, on the 31st at Castillon on the Dordogne, near Libourne, and by September 25th at Bétheniville near Rheims. The probable route seems to be Mâcon, Nevers, (or possibly Roanne) Clermont, Aurillac, Agen, returning by Bordeaux, Saintes or Angoulême, Poitiers, Tours, and Paris; but this can hardly be more than a guess.

In general, all that can be gathered from the trips of Charles in Auvergne and Aquitaine is that a road ran south from Tours to the region of Bordeaux and from Nevers to the region of Albi, with a diagonal from Poitiers by Limoges to the southeast, connecting the two. The east-west artery of Strabo's

⁴³ See Page 38.

⁴⁴ LOT and HALPHEN, *Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études*, Fasc. 175. p. 207, say "prenant probablement par l'Auvergne."

⁴⁵ Commune de l'Isle d'Albi.

⁴⁶ BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. VIII, p. 468, No. 46.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Mariscarias* in DU CANDE, *Glossarium*.

⁴⁸ See below p. 96.

time seems to have vanished from the map of the kings of France.

After Charles the Bald the data of royal itineraries becomes increasingly scanty, and with the shrinkage of the kingdom from the Empire of Charlemagne to the "Royal Domaine" of the first Capetians, the extent of the journeys is radically reduced.

Louis the Stammerer⁴⁹ and his contemporaries have left few clear journeys. One in the spring and summer of 878 leads from Senlis by St. Denis and Paris to Tours and then in the fall to Troyes and Compiègne. The latter part of this journey may well have been by Bourges, Auxerre, and Troyes. From Compiègne he goes by Herstal to Mersen, and thence into the Ardennes. The following year he is at Ponthion on Feb. 2 and having reached Troyes on his way to Autun, turns back and arrives at Compiègne by Jouarre on April 10. This short-cut by Jouarre has not been met with before, though probably it was the route used from Troyes to Compiègne in 878. In the fall of 879 Louis with his brother Carloman, sets out from Orbe to fight the Normans of the Loire, and returns in the following March by Amiens to Compiègne, Rheims, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Gondreville. Then after a time he goes to Attigny and later to Mâcon and Vienne.

In the same year (879) the Emperor, Charles the Fat, goes to Lombardy by way of Orbe and Mont Joux,—the Little St. Bernard pass—probably branching off from the Rhine road above Strasburg and going through the Franche-Comté. And Louis, King of Germany, coming from Bavaria by way of Frankfort, makes an incursion into France as far as Verdun, and returns by Mayence and Frankfort to Bavaria. An expedition by Eudes in 892 into Aquitaine is so vague as to be of little value.⁵⁰ From Tours he goes to Poitiers, then to Limoges, Angoulême and

⁴⁹ BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. IX.

⁵⁰ FAVRE, *Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études*, Fasc. 99, pp. 147-149.

Périgueux and turning east against the force of William, count of Clermont, reaches by an unknown route Cosne-sur-Loire.

Raoul of Burgundy⁵¹ gives little more information. In 924 he marches from Lorraine with great speed against the Duke of Aquitaine, meeting him on the banks of the Loire in the region of Autun, probably near Nevers. Evidently the journey was by way of Châlons-sur-Marne and Troyes. Afterward Raoul goes to Autun and to Chalon-sur-Saône and on his way north takes possession of the fortress of Mont-Saint-Jean, some ten miles east of Saulieu on a direct line to Auxerre. Again⁵² in 925 Raoul is at Laon on April 6, at Arciat about five miles below Mâcon on the Saône on May 30 and in July at Autun. A little later he is at the head of his army at Eu on the coast of Normandy at the mouth of the Bresle. The shortest road there would be by Auxerre and Sens to Paris and then by Beauvais to the sea. This latter section of road has not been met before nor is it clearly indicated here. In any event the occasion for its use was too special to warrant setting it down as a regular traffic route. Another expedition in 926,⁵³ from Laon to Nevers against the Duke of Aquitaine, probably follows the well travelled road by Châlons-sur-Marne and Auxerre. Returning, the king visits Sens and thence passes possibly through Paris. The only other journey of length that can be traced with any assurance is the pilgrimage of Raoul in 931⁵⁴ from Vienne to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours. He must have gone by way of Lyons, Mâcon and probably by Chalon-sur-Saône to Autun and Nevers and through Berry to his destination.

In 944 Louis d'Outremer with his queen received the homage of Raymond, count of Toulouse and other southern nobles, at

⁵¹ LAUER, *Bibl. de l'école des h'tes études*, Fasc. 188, pp. 27-30.

⁵² *Ibid.* pp. 38-39.

⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 44.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 60-61.

Nevers.⁵⁵ The king probably came there from "Francia" or Burgundy, and the count from Toulouse, so that the route from Gascony by Auvergne through Nevers is clearly, if sketchily, indicated. The same route is indicated in 981 when Louis V set out for Auvergne to marry Adalaide, widow of the count of Gevaudan,⁵⁶ or, according to Richer, of the Duke of Gothia,⁵⁷—and met her at Vieux-Brioude. Two years later Louis returned north and his divorced wife fled south to marry the count of Arles.

To judge from the chronicle of Flooard, Compiègne had lost its importance by the tenth century and Laon had become the royal stronghold. Paris had not yet risen to any great eminence for, while the chronicle is written no further away than Rheims, the references to the city on the Seine are rare and very casual. From the frequency with which towns are mentioned, the most important line of communication from Rheims appears to have been that by Laon, Noyon and Amiens to the west, and by Verdun and Metz to the east. Of second importance are the lines by Soissons, St. Quentin and Cambrai to Arras, and to Tongres, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne; by Soissons, Compiègne and Beauvais to Rouen; by Paris to Tours; by Châlons-sur-Marne to Troyes and Auxerre and to Dijon; and by Attigny, Mouzon and Trèves to Mayence.

One new road is given in the history of Richer. In 901 he undertook a journey from Rheims to Chartres. The first day he reached Orbais perhaps by way of Epernay, and the second day gained Meaux. His road probably ran thence to Paris. On the second day he lost his way in the woods and found himself in the region of Chateau-Thierry. Judging from this and the fact that the bridge at Meaux was so dilapidated as to be almost im-

⁵⁵ LAUER, *Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études*, Fasc. 127, p. 109.

⁵⁶ LOT, *Bib'l. de l'école des h'tes études*, Fasc. 87, p. 127.

⁵⁷ RICHER, *Hist.* Bk. III, ch. XCII-XCIII.

passable, it is evident that this route was not greatly travelled.⁵⁵

In the history of Richer, Paris plays a decidedly more important role, for it is with the Capetians that the city at last comes into real prominence. The center of royal interest shifts at the same time from the east to the west of the Seine; from Francia to Neustria, the "Transsequania" of the Annals of St. Bertin. The first kings of the race left little or no data by which to trace this change, but by the time of Louis the Fat⁵⁶ a century and a half later, it is complete. This king was a most generous issuer of diplomas but unfortunately in many of them the exact day of issuance is not given, so that even as late as the XIIth century it is very difficult to trace definite journeys. However, the nearness to each other of the localities mentioned indicates that the king's radius of action was extremely limited. The most extended expedition follows the murder of Charles the Good, count of Flanders, in 1127. On this occasion the king goes in the spring from St. Riquier to Arras and on by Lille and Deynze (presumably by Courtrai) to Ghent. Thence he goes to Bruges and after short excursions in the neighborhood, south to Ypres. Messines, Lille, Aire, Cassel and Oudenaarde are visited and then the king returns to Bruges. The next year after returning to Paris, he visits Arras three times and Lille once. Twice in his reign he goes to Clermont, the first time in 1122 from Paris by Bourges (visiting Pont du Chateau near Clermont on the Allier), suggesting the road by Nevers; the second time in 1126 from Poissi, returning from Mont Ferrand to Orléans, probably also by Nevers. In 1108 he visits Bourges by way of Melun, St. Benoît-sur-Loire, and Orléans; the details of the latter part of the route are unknown. Except for these four journeys the king never went more than a hundred miles away from Paris.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Bk. IV, ch. L.

⁵⁶ The data for Louis the Fat are to be found in LUCHAIRE, *Louis VI le gros, Annales de sa vie et de son règne, 1081-1137*.

The kingdom by now is much more definitely centered in Paris than it ever was at Aix-la-Chapelle or Compiègne or Laon under the Carolingians. Orléans ranks second only to the capital, far outclassing in its importance to the king all the other cities of his domain. The highway between these two points is clearly marked by constant reference to Etampes. The strongholds of Monthléri, at the gates of Paris, and Le Puisset, somewhat to the west of the road where it runs by Touri, were continual menaces to the king because they threatened his chief communications. In the third rank come the cities to the north: Senlis, Soissons, Laon and Rheims, and then Compiègne; next, Melun and Sens, indicating a certain amount of traffic up the Seine and perhaps by Ferrières to the Loire. Finally Beauvais and Chartres can be grouped with St. Germain-en-Laye and Poissi, as nearby towns not on the road to anywhere in particular. St. Denis no longer has the importance as a royal resting place which it enjoyed in the ninth century; the king's palace at Paris has supplanted it. On the other hand the abbey of St. Benoît-sur-Loire and the town of Lorris are still much visited by the king. Chateau-Landon to the southeast, and Dreux and Les Andelys to the west and northwest complete the bounds of the royal activities. The highway between Paris and Orléans is the only traffic route that stands forth from it all with any distinctness.

Another group of itineraries of political character is furnished by the journeys of the popes. (See pl. I.) The greater detail with which these are known is counterbalanced by their comparative infrequency, and by the influence of a few great monastic establishments in shaping their courses. But unlike the journeys of the kings, they are fuller in the XIIth than in the IXth century and serve particularly to throw light on ways about the south of France.

The earliest journey is that of Stephen II⁶⁰ in 753-754 to meet Pippin at Ponthion. Crossing the Alps by the Little St. Bernard pass he descends by the Monastery of St. Maurice to Lake Geneva. The ridge of the Jura is crossed at Romainmôtier near Orbe, and the old Roman route presumably followed by Besançon and Langres to Ponthion. From there Stephen proceeds to Quierzy and St. Denis and then returns south by an unknown route to Lyons and Vienne and by the Maurienne⁶¹ to Italy.

Next comes the journey of Leo III in 804-805.⁶² He also crosses by the Monastery of St. Maurice into France and heads north to Rheims, probably by the Besançon-Langres route. He visits Soissons and Quierzy and then goes to Aix-la-Chapelle, evidently by the road north of the Sambre and Meuse. His return is by Cologne and Bavaria over one of the eastern passes to Ravenna. In 816 Stephen IV⁶³ also goes to Rheims and returns by Ravenna, but no details of his route can be ascertained.

In 833 Gregory IV⁶⁴ crosses to France, by the Pennine Alps again, and after reaching Rothfeld by an unknown road, returns by an unknown pass to Rome.

John VIII, setting out in 878⁶⁵ from Genoa, goes, presumably by sea,⁶⁶ to Arles. From there he follows the Rhône to Lyons and the Saône to Chalon. From Chalon he goes to Langres and then to Troyes,—possibly by way of Ponthion, as he is a month or so on the road,—and back to Chalon-sur-Saône. The Rhône valley, the monastery of St. Jean-de-Maurienne and the pass of Mont Cenis take him back to Italy.

⁶⁰ JAFFE, *Regesta Pontif. Rom.* Vol I, pp. 272, ff.

⁶¹ Probabaly crossing over the Mt. Cenis pass.

⁶² JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 311 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 317.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 324 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 398 ff.

⁶⁶ This would be the only time by sea prior to the XIth century.

During the Xth century no pope went north of the Alps. Diplomatic intercourse between "Francia" and Rome was none the less active on that account, and the journey back and forth seems to have been a matter of no great difficulty. The chronicle of Richer is full of references to such trips. Thus in 928 Herbert of Vermandois sends an embassy to the pope, which, finding the pope just then in prison, promptly returns.⁶⁷ In 971 Adalberon, bishop of Rheims, goes to Rome to obtain privileges for the abbey of St. Remi, with which he shortly returns.⁶⁸ In 981 Hugh Capet, having first sent deputies to the Emperor Otto who was then at Rome, follows shortly after, and having had a favorable interview returns secretly to avoid those who are trying to waylay him in the Alps.⁶⁹ As for Gerbert, the future pope Sylvester II, journeying between Rome and Rheims must have been almost a commonplace affair. In 972 he comes from Rome to Rheims.⁷⁰ In 980 he goes from there to Rome⁷¹ and returns the next year.⁷² In 983 he is made abbot of Bobbio and again crosses the Alps, but early the next year he is forced to abandon the abbey and returns to Rheims.⁷³ In 996 he goes south with the Emperor and returns to St. Denis the next year,⁷⁴ and again in 997 he joins the Emperor in Germany and makes his last journey to Rome.⁷⁵ There is no detail given of any of these trips, but judging from the journeys of Charles the Bald and of the earlier popes, there can be little doubt that all of them—except Gerbert's two trips with the emperor—followed the old highway from Rheims by Châlons-sur-Marne, Langres, Besançon and the Little St. Bernard pass.

⁶⁷ RICHER, *Hist.* Bk. I, ch. LIV.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. XXV-XXIX.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. LXXXIV-LXXXVIII.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. XLV.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. LVII.

⁷² *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. LXV.

⁷³ GERBERT, *Epistoleae* 130, 161; written from Rheims to Bobbio five years later.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* ep. 209.

⁷⁵ RICHER, *op. cit.* Appendix.

In the XIth century the popes resume their journeys north. First, Benedict VIII⁶⁰ goes in 1020 to Bamberg and Fulda in Germany perhaps by the highway of the Rhine Valley. Germany is visited again in 1047 by Gregory VI,⁶¹ who crosses the Rhine at Cologne and dies near its banks. The following year, Leo IX,⁶² elected at Worms, promptly sets out for Italy, but instead of following the Rhine he strikes across Lorraine to Toul and goes south by Besançon, and over the Alps to Aosta—probably following the old Roman route from Toul to Langres and by Lake Geneva and the Little St. Bernard pass to Italy. In a few months he goes north again,⁶³ by the same pass over the Alps, and somehow reaches Saxony. He crosses the Rhine, probably at Cologne, and visits Aix-la-Chapelle and Liège. He starts south again shortly—probably returning first to Cologne—then going by Trèves to Toul and west by Curmelois to Rheims. From Rheims he turns east by Verdun and Metz to the Rhine, which he crosses at Mayence. Then passing through Bavaria to Augsburg, he reaches Italy by the eastern Alps.

The next year⁶⁴ he again goes north. His route is clearly marked, passing by St. Maurice, Romainmôtier, Besançon, Langres, Toul and Trèves. His return is again by Augsburg. Two years later he visits Germany a third time; on this occasion he goes down the Rhine from Schaffhausen to Worms, and up again to Augst. Similarly Victor II goes into Germany from Rome in 1056,⁶⁵ but only appears west of the Rhine at Spires, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne.

At the end of the XIth century the first extended itinerary appears. Urban II⁶⁶ leaving Italy in 1095 sets out to preach

⁶⁰ JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 510-511.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 525.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 529.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 531 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 538 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 550 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 680 ff.

the first Crusade through the length and breadth of France. He crosses from Aosta to Valence, presumably by the Little St. Bernard pass and the valley of the Isère. From Valence he reaches Le Puy in five days or less. The monastery here seems to have been one of the chief points of interest to the popes of the XIIth century and was undoubtedly the objective which brought Urban down from the Alps as far south as Valence. From Le Puy he visits the nearby monastery of the Chaise-Dieu and then goes straight back across the Cévennes to Romans on the Isère. A week later he is at St. Gilles, and then starts north along the Rhône for Cluny. There is no evidence that he stopped at Arles, the crossing at Beaucaire may have already superseded the one lower down. Tarascon, Avignon, St. Paul-trois-Châteaux, Lyons and Mâcon mark the road to Cluny, the center of the church in France and from this time on the goal of all papal expeditions across the Alps.⁸⁸

After a stay of some weeks there, Urban sets out for Auvergne. He passes north by Autun to St. Vertu⁸⁴ and then to *Monticulum* and Clermont for the famous council of 1095. I strongly suspect that *Monticulum* is the modern Montilly on the Allier just north of Moulins. His route was certainly by Auxerre and Nevers and up the valley of the Allier. From Clermont he goes south to Aquitaine reaching Aurillac by Brioude and St. Flour. On the way the pope dedicates the cathedral church of St. Flour. If it were not that he may have turned aside from the direct road for this purpose, it would indicate that the similar journey of Louis the Pious in 839 from Clermont to Cartilat led around rather than over the Plomb-du-

"A few years before this (1063) the journey from Italy to Cluny was made by St. Peter Damiani, also by the Little St. Bernard pass—*"Ipse etiam Joviana jam dicta et saepe dicenda periula,—nullius ut dicitur, Marronis subvectus auxilio — "* (cf. *Marrones* in DU CANGE, *Glossarium.*) from *De gallica projectione d. P. Damiani, et ejus ultramont. itinere.* MIGNE, *Pat. lat.* Vol. CXLV, p. 870.)

⁸⁸ Dep. Yonne, arr. Tonnerre, cant. Noyers.

Cantal.⁶⁶ From Aurillac Urban's road runs straight to Limoges by Uzèrche, and then by Charroux to Poitiers. This long southern detour by Aurillac indicates that the old direct Roman road from Clermont to Limoges was no longer in general use.⁶⁷ From Poitiers the pope goes north to visit the monastery of Glanfeuil on the Loire and crosses—presumably by the Ponts-de-Cé—to Angers, whence a circuit by Sablé, Le Mans and Vendôme brings him back to the Loire at Marmoutier and Tours. From Tours he strikes south to Bordeaux by Poitiers, St. Maixent, St. Jean-d'Angély and Saintes. The itinerary then turns east to Toulouse. Evidently the road does not run close to the Garonne all the way to Agen,—as in the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Table of Peutinger,—but from Langon runs further south,—as in the earlier itinerary to Jerusalem,—for it passes by Nerac. Here it must have turned to regain the river at Agen, Leyrac being the next recorded stop. Probably the road crossed the river at this point and followed up the right bank, as at the present day, to Moissac where it crossed the affluent Tarn and so continued on to Toulouse.⁶⁸ From Toulouse Urban's road runs as in Roman times, as far as Carcassonne, but then instead of continuing on to Narbonne it strikes northeast to St. Pons-de-Thomières and so reaches Maguelonne and Montpellier. Evidently by the beginning of the XIIth century both Arles and Narbonne, which Ansonius sang as centers of the commerce of the world, had sunk into insignificance. From Montpellier to Nîmes the route is old; there the pope turns south to the unidentified *Vallem Flavianiam* and to St. Gilles; crosses the Rhône,—perhaps at Arles, though there is no mention of this city,—and appears again at Avignon.

⁶⁶ See p. 38.

⁶⁷ See p. 44.

⁶⁸ JAFFE, *op. cit.* p. 687 places a charter issued at Toulouse between that of May 7 given at Leyrac and that of May 13 at Moissac. As this charter is undated, it seems to me more reasonable to place it between May 23 and June 3, at both of which dates the pope was in Toulouse.

Turning east up the course of the Durance by Cavaillon, Apt and Forcalquier and by an undetermined point called *Gaicem*, which I can not identify unless it be Eyguians, he reaches Vienne and finally crosses the Alps to Aosta. Probably this passage, like most of those before, is by the Little St. Bernard pass.

Another trip of some extent was made by Pascal II, in 1106-1107.⁸⁸ How he leaves Italy in unknown, he appears first traveling "in Burgundy" and then at Cluny, obviously his first objective.⁸⁹ A short excursion is made to Lyons and to Chalon-sur-Saône and then the pope goes north by Beaune,⁹⁰ Dijon (with an excursion to Bèze) and Langres. Monastic interests divert Paschal from the most direct route, for we find him next at the monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire, perhaps having retraced his steps by Dijon and Beaune to reach Autun and Nevers, then, presumably having passed by way of Bourges, at Déols just north of Chateauroux, and then at Tours. A week or so is spent here and at Marmoutier and then he goes by way of Chartres to St. Denis and by Lagny, Meaux and Sezanne to

⁸⁸ JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 727 ff.

⁸⁹ JAFFE, (*op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 728) inserts Casale under the date of Jan. 4 between Cluny on Dec. 25 and Lyons on Jan. 29. Although it might have been possible to go from France to Italy and back in five weeks, it seems hardly probable that the pope would have done so. I therefore believe that the suggestion to refer Casale to the preceding year is correct.

⁹⁰ JAFFE, (*op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 729) gives Cluny for Feb. 8; *villam St. Hippolyti* Feb. 8; *Alba* Feb. 10; and Beaune Feb. 12. From Cluny to Beaune is a little over 40 miles, therefore presumably a two days' journey. It is evident that *St. Hippolytus* and *Alba* would have to be nearly on the direct road between the two, and I can find nothing suggestive of either name in the region. There are a number of *St. Hippolyti* in France but apparently none within two hundred miles of Beaune; *Alba* should be Aps (Ardèche) one hundred and fifty miles to the south. Though I cannot say at what time Paschal II visited these suggested points—if at all—it is evident that it was not between the 8th and 12th of Feb., 1107. I have therefore omitted them altogether from the itinerary.

Châlons-sur-Marne.⁵¹ From Châlons he turns to go south again, this time by way of Auvergne. He follows the well established road through Troyes, Auxerre and Clamency, aiming to cross the Loire at Nevers. A day's journey from Clamency brings him to *Lupertiacum* which I take to be Lurey on the Nièvre. Six days more bring him to the abbey of Souvigny just west of Mouline. While there is no direct evidence that the pope visited Clermont at this time, it is probable that he actually spent some time there, for it is three weeks later that we next find him at Sauxillanges, and after two weeks more at Brioude on his way to Le Puy. From Le Puy he crosses the mountains of the Viverais to Valence and following the valley of the Isère by St. Marcellin, St. Pierre-d'Allevard and Aiguebelle, crosses, presumably by the Mont Cenis pass, into Italy.

In 1118 conflict with the emperor compelled Gelasius II to leave Rome and seek support in France.⁵² Under the circumstances Lombardy was a region to be avoided, so the sea route was chosen, by Pisa to Marseilles. Thence the pope goes west to St. Gilles, perhaps continuing his voyage by boat, perhaps taking to the land and crossing the Rhône at Arles,—though there is no mention of this town. The coast is skirted westward by Maguelonne and Montpellier as far as the river Agly, near Perpignan, where he turns inland and visits Estagel, to dedicate the church of St. Cecilia and a church at Quillen shortly after. This apparently brings him east and north in a circle to

⁵¹ JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 730, puts Châlons first, then Sézanne, then Meaux. The charters granted at Sézanne and Meaux were both issued on the 13th of May. These two points are over forty miles apart, a distance hardly to be covered in a single day; a day's journey of the pope in the XIIth century ranging from 20 to 40 kilometers (12½ to 25 miles) (cf. LUDWIG, *Reise- u. Marschgeschwindigkeit im XIIth and XIIIth Jhr.* Abs. I, Kap. III.) The visit to Châlons is known from SUGER, *Vit. Ludov. Gross.*, but no exact date is given. The proper order is so evident that I have taken it for granted without attempting to decide which "May 13" is incorrect.

⁵² JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 778 ff.

Carcassonne.⁸³ He next appears at Tornac near Alais and at Alais itself in the foothills of the Cévennes. Perhaps his path led back to the coast at Narbonne—though there is no mention of this town in the whole journey,—or more likely ran by the newer road of St. Pons-de-Thomières and Béziers along the foot of the mountains.⁸⁴

The important monasteries of Le Puy and Cluny are apparently his next objectives, for his road runs to the Rhône through Uzès and then turns north from Avignon. Probably the Rhône was crossed at that point, though the stone bridge of St. Benezet was not begun till sixty years later. Orange and St. Paul-trois-Châteaux mark the northward road; then a short excursion west over the mountains to Le Puy and back to Valence; and then by Vienne, Lyons and Mâcon he continues north to Cluny, where he dies.

His successor, Calixtus II, elected at the beginning of February 1119, starts immediately south.⁸⁵ From Cluny he goes by Lyons to Vienne, his former bishopric. Here he stays a month, making a short excursion south to Crest⁸⁶ and St. Antoine. His next objective is Clermont. He goes thither by way of Valence and the pass over the mountains of the Vivarais, for Le Puy, Brioude and Sauxillanges are stations on the way. From Clermont he turns south stopping at Massiac, Brioude and St. Flour. A route we have not met before, up the course of the

⁸³ There is no specific evidence of Carcassonne, it is merely inferred.

⁸⁴ See below p. 96.

⁸⁵ JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 781 ff.

⁸⁶ “*Oppidum Christum*” is the appellation in the text. I have not been able to identify this town definitely, but assume it to be the same as the “*Castrum Cristam*” where Calixtus II stops on March 2, 1120 (see below, p. 61). As the latter is located somewhere between Valence and Veynes, Crest seems to me the only reasonable possibility. No point could be more properly termed *oppidum* or *castrum* than this fortress. The name Crest is commonly supposed to be derived from the curious cock’s comb like formation of rock there; it may be that the pope sanctified the common name, or that the popular etymology is incorrect.

Allier and over the Cévennes to Nîmes brings him in two weeks time to St. Gilles. St. Julian-des-Chazes near Langeac, at the beginning of the road, is the only station of which we have record.⁸⁷ Montpellier and Maguelonne mark his way to Béziers, where he turns west to Toulouse. This journey is apparently not over the old road by Narbonne and Carcassonne but by way of *Castellum Avinionum*, obviously not Avignon, but rather, I think, Castres.⁸⁸

From Toulouse Calixtus goes north to Angers by the most direct route. This leads him by Fronton to the Tarn, which he crosses at St. Audard (St. Doué) just north of Montauban. From there to Périgueux his road probably runs by Cahors and Sarlat, for he reaches St. Leontius, (which I take to be St. Léon on the Vézère five miles below Montignac) shortly before arriving at Périgueux. Brantôme, Angoulême, Poitiers and Loudun bring him to the abbey of Fontevrault by the Loire. The abbey of St. Florent, near Saumur, and that of Glanfeuil are then visited before he crosses the river, probably by the Ponts-de-Cé to Angers.

A week later he arrives at Tours and thence goes on by Orléans, Etampes and the adjacent village of Morigny to Paris. After a few days stop here and at the abbey of St. Denis, he continues to his objective, Rheims, passing through Senlis and Soissons on the way. The famous conclave held here was broken by an excursion to Mouzon to meet the emperor, whence fearing treachery, he returned in three days. When the assembly is over, the pope makes a circuit by Laon, Breteuil, Beauvais and

⁸⁷ The proof of this route is contained in *Hist. comp. ap. Flores, Esp. Sagr.*, XX, 275 "ab Alvernia, ubi cum Wilhelmo, duce Aquitaniae, colloquium habuerat, per montana, quae sunt inter Podium et Nemauseum remeabat."

⁸⁸ The usual Latin name for Castres is *Castrum Albencium* of which *Castellum Avinionum* is not an impossible corruption. *Castellum* is not as a rule applied to towns of any size. I have nowhere else found Avignon so styled.

Gisors to St. Denis and Paris. A week elapses from the time he leaves Rheims until he arrives at Breteuil so he may well have visited St. Quentin or Amiens on the way.

His homeward route from Paris to Italy is evidently dictated by the desire to revisit Cluny for a few days, and his former bishopric Vienne. The points along the way are: Corbeil, Melun, the abbey of Ferrières on the road to the Loire; back to the main road at Sens; Auxerre; Saulieu; Autun; Cluny; an excursion to the abbey of Tournus; then south again by Mâcon, Lyon, Vienne and Romans to Valence.⁹⁹

The crossing of the Alps is not made this time by the Little St. Bernard pass but by that of Mont Genèvre. Crest,¹⁰⁰ Veynes, Gap, Embrun and Oulx are the stations on the way.

The last papal expedition into France in the first half of the XII century is that of Innocent II in 1130-1132¹⁰¹ to gain the support of the king and the French clergy against the antipope Anacletus II. Innocent, fleeing from Rome, sets out by boat along the Italian coast and reaches St. Gilles. Whether he sailed here by the little Rhône or disembarked at Marseilles or Arles and came by land, cannot be said; there is no mention of any other port on the way. From St. Gilles he goes to Cluny and on the way visits Bourg-St. Andéol and Le Puy, though in what order or by what road is uncertain. From Cluny he takes the shortest way to Clermont, a road not met before, by Roanne.¹⁰² After a stay of two weeks or more he turns north again, passing St. Pourçain on the old road by the Allier. In-

⁹⁹ This last stage and the journey in Feb. 1119 from Vienne to Crest and back (see p. 59) may indicate that the road along the uplands by Beaurepaire and Romans had replaced to some extent the road along the river.

¹⁰⁰ "ap castrum cristam," see p. 59, Note 96.

¹⁰¹ JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 843 ff.

¹⁰² Innocent is supposed to have been at Cluny on Nov. 3, 1130 and the next day at Roanne (JAFFE, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 844) the distance by road is fully forty-five miles, an extraordinary journey if the dates are correct.

stead of continuing to Nevers, however, he crosses the Loire at Decize in order to turn east to Autun. Back to the Loire once more, he follows down its stream to Fleury and Orléans, and continues on to Chartres. From here his erratic course goes east to Marigny and Etampes to meet the king, then crossing the Seine, presumably at Melun, to Châlons-sur-Marne probably by Sézanne. He is at Châlons on February sixteenth, at Rebais more than half way to Paris on the twenty-first and twenty-second, at *Iotri*,—which I take to be Jouarre in the immediate neighborhood,—three days later, and on March 14 at St. Quentin. There is little or nothing to be learned from such perigrinations. After St. Quentin the routes become slightly more definite though still rather zig-zag in character. First by Cambrai he goes to Liège to meet the emperor, then back by Laon to St. Denis and Paris. Next by Montmorency and Beaumont on the Oise to Gisors and Rouen to meet the king of England and back by Beauvais to Compiègne, then by Crépy and an unknown road leisurely to Auxerre.

It is evident that the pope is on a political tour, “stumping” the country, as it were, to gain adherents before the great council to be held at Rheims. For this purpose he turns westward to Orléans and Blois and finally by Etampes, Paris and Soissons to Rheims. After three weeks there, his rival having been duly anathematized and the young prince Louis VII crowned, he follows the well established route through Champagne, by Châlons-sur-Marne, Troyes and Auxerre to Nevers. The road by Autun then takes him to Cluny and after two weeks or so at that famous abbey, he turns south. Instead of keeping to the main road by Mâcon to Lyons, he makes a digression to Beaujeu in order to consecrate the church of St. Nicholas, newly erected there. Vienne, Valence and Avignon are visited on the way to St. Gilles. Probably the Rhône is crossed at Avignon or Tarascon. One more station, Gap, indicates that the Alps

are crossed by the Mont Genèvre pass and so, probably by Apt, Forcalquier and Veynes, he reaches Italy.

By this date intercommunication has become so general in all directions, especially in the region about Paris, that the highways do not stand out clearly from the byways. The earlier journeys are really the more useful for our purpose. From both the royal and the papal routes there is evidence of a gradual shifting of centers of interests with the attendant frequency of travel on the surrounding roads. For the kings the center moves progressively southwest, from Aix-la-Chapelle to Quierzy, Compiègne, Paris and finally across the Seine. For the popes the royal and imperial centers are the journey's ends, until in the Xth century Cluny and Provence afford independent papal interests.

It is unfortunate that there is no similar manner of determining the highways about Angers, Bordeaux and Toulouse. On the very edge of the area of royal control, these cities were practically independent capitals, each one undoubtedly the center of a well travelled nexus of roads. But the journeys of their rulers are unchronicled.

Recognizing the incompleteness of the records for certain regions, we can yet distinguish in these itineraries certain well marked political highways.

First; there is the circle around the Ardennes from Cologne west by Valenciennes and Cambrai, and east by Coblenz and Trèves to Rheims.

Second; an east and west current through Rheims from the Rhine at Mayence and Strassburg to Rouen.

Third; the old Roman highways from Italy by the Little St. Bernard pass, by Besançon and Langres to Rheims and on to the channel at Boulogne. This is the only Roman road which seems to have maintained its importance undiminished. Its

younger fellow along the Rhine has perhaps even increased in greatness, but is no longer within our sphere of inquiry.

Fourth; three great highways from the northeast to the southwest. One by Amiens, Rouen, Le Mans, Angers, probably due south to Saintes, Bordeaux and Spain. Another from "Francia" by Paris, Orléans, Tours, Poitiers, Angoulême, continuing also probably to Bordeaux. The third from Rheims by Châlons-sur-Marne and Troyes, Auxerre, Nevers, Clermont, Aurillac, to Toulouse and thence to "Gothia" and eastern Spain. A fourth road, greater than any of these in Gallo-Roman times, by Coblenz, Trèves, Toul, Langres, Chalon-sur-Saône, Lyons and Vienne to Arles seems now left far behind. It is only in the XIth century under the influence of Cluny that it seems to recover somewhat its position.

Fifth; a road or roads at right angles to these three, connecting "Gothia" by Toulouse with Bordeaux at the south, perhaps with Saintes by way of Angoulême in the center, and with Angers by way of Poitiers at the north. Our data on this system of roads is very vague, but most of the traffic seems to have been to the north of the Garonne, instead of south as in Roman times, and at some distance from this river.¹⁰³

The roads from Tours by Bourges to the upper Loire and that by the Seine and Yonne to the Saône seem to have been at this time short cuts rather than major traffic routes.

¹⁰³ See below p. 96.

CHAPTER III.

PILGRIMAGES AND MERCHANT ROUTES.

There is little direct evidence of definite traffic routes aside from the journeys of the kings and the popes. But indirect evidence as to general movements and centers of congregation may be gathered from a number of other sources.

The roads of France were filled at times with multitudes of wayfarers on pilgrimage to the shrines of certain saints particularly potent in the salvation of the soul and body. With this host of the spiritually minded went a large number inspired by more earthly motives; merchants seeking the protection of numbers, in their journeys to foreign countries; those who under the guise of pilgrims imported relics and other holy wares toll-free,¹ and those who sought to traffic in the excellent markets provided by the gatherings on especially holy days. And some, too, were merely "perpetual travellers who never tire of seeing and traversing new countries,"² and some undertook their journeys through vanity, in order to be honored on their return.³ There is unfortunately very little evidence of the routes of these pilgrimages in France, but the points toward which they directed traffic can be clearly seen.

First in importance, as in date, was the great pilgrimage to Jerusalem. We have already referred⁴ to the accurate itinerary

¹ PIGEONNEAU, *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 124-125.

² RAOUL GLABER, *Hist.* Bk. V, Ch. I.

³ *Ibid.* Bk. IV, Ch. VI.

⁴ Pp. 19, and 25, Note 85.

given by the traveller from Bordeaux in 333. This lay well to the south of the Garonne as far as Toulouse, then crossed the divide by Carcassonne to Narbonne, then by Nîmes reached Arles, and crossing the Rhône there, followed its course up to Valence, then by the valley of the Drôme and the Mont Genève pass reached Italy. Crossing Lombardy and the Julian Alps, his route lay through the Balkans to Constantinople. In the account of Arculph's pilgrimage (c. 670)⁵ his journey to the east is not given, but on returning he describes Constantinople and then Stromboli. Evidently he passed by boat through the straits of Messina and landed in Italy, or perhaps continued to the southern ports of France. Willibald we have seen,⁶ in the seventh century, crossing with a party of pilgrims from Portsmouth to Rouen, then by an unknown route reaching northern Italy. He then goes by Rome to Beneventum and taking ship, presumably at Naples or near by, passes the straits of Messina, stopping at Reggio, Catania and Syracuse, and so reaches the eastern Mediterranean. Returning by boat from Constantinople he puts in again at Syracuse, Catania and Reggio and lands at Naples. From Italy he does not cross into France but goes to Germany.

By the ninth century the Saracens controlled the Mediterranean, or at least proved a serious menace to all Christian shipping. For this reason probably, the monk Bernard,⁷ after crossing into Italy, did not sail in a Christian ship from Naples but chose the rather unpleasant alternative of voyaging along with many Christian captives, in a Saracen ship from the Saracen port of Tarentum to Alexandria. Returning he reached Monte d'Oro in Corsica by a stormy two months passage direct from the Holy Land, but where he landed he does not say.

⁵ See above pp. 30-31.

⁶ See above p. 30.

⁷ See above p. 30.

At this time and throughout the tenth century the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem must have been more difficult than at any other period, for not only was the journey by sea from Naples threatened by the Saracens, but the land route through the Balkans had been blocked for some time by the heathen Hungarians. Suddenly with the beginning of the eleventh century the situation was changed. The king of the Hungarians became converted to Christianity and was baptized under the name of Stephen.⁸ At the same time, as was customary, all his semi-barbaric followers along the Danube turned into very good catholics,⁹ and instead of selfishly making slaves of travelling Christians, received them now as very brothers. At least so Raoul Glaber asserts.¹⁰ The immediate effect of this was to divert all pilgrims to Jerusalem from the route by sea to that by the valley of the Danube. Journeying by land was much more comfortable than that by water,—especially as pilgrims seem to have been exceptionally bad sailors,—and it was safer under the new regime. Moreover, Stephen we are told, presented magnificent gifts to all who passed his way.¹¹ Naturally the number of pilgrims increased prodigiously. Not only all classes of men, from the most powerful lords and prelates to the poorest laborers, undertook the holy journey, but also women, both noble and humble, travelled to the East.¹²

There is no detail of the route followed, but it can be safely assumed that parties from Italy crossed the eastern Alps and the present Balkan states, as did the fourth century pilgrims from Bordeaux. Those from Spain and the south of France probably entered Italy from the Rhône valley, to join the north Italian route. Those of central France gathering from Châlons-

⁸ King of Hungary from 997-1038.

⁹ RAOUL GLABER, *Hist.* Bk. III, Ch. I.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Bk. I, ch. V.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Bk. III, ch. I.

¹² *Ibid.* Bk. IV, ch. VI.

sur-Marne and from Rheims, must have followed the route by Verdun, Metz and Trèves to Mayence and there crossed the Rhine, to reach the Danube valley at Regensburg. And the pilgrims from England must have landed at Boulogne-sur-mer and by Ghent reached Cologne, where with those of Flanders coming through Valenciennes they crossed the Rhine and turned southwest to the Danube road.

A definite indication of the middle one of these roads is given by Raoul Glaber.¹³ He states that the count Foulques of Anjou, returning from his third pilgrimage to Jerusalem, died at Metz. His body was carried thence to the monastery of Loches. Obviously the road had been from Mayence through Trèves to Metz, and then in all probability ran by Verdun, Rheims and Paris to the Loire. Toward the latter part of the eleventh century a poem, "La Chanson du Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem"¹⁴ shows the emperor following the same route.

"Il eissirent de *France e Burguigne guerpirent*
Loheregne traversent Baiviere e Hungerie,
La grant ewe del flum passerent a Lalice."

Of course this indicates a route of the eleventh rather than of the ninth century, but it must have been one considered old at the time of writing.

¹³ *Op. cit.* Bk. IV, ch. IX.

¹⁴ Published by MICHEL, *Charlemagne, an anglo-norman poem*, London (1836) and KOSCHWITZ, *Karls d. Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, and in part in the publications of the *Soc. de l'orient latin, Série géographique* Vol. III.

"They leave France and depart from Burgundy,
 Traverse Lorraine, Bavaria and Hungary,
 Cross the great water of the river at Lalice."

This route was followed at about the same date by the Bishops of Mayence, Bamberg, Regensburg and Utrecht who set out for Jerusalem with a host of followers, in the fall of 1064, and returned by way of Hungary in the following year. (LAMBERT OF HERSFELD, *Ann.* in MIGNE, *Pat. lat.* CXLVI, pp. 1081-1086.)

A few years later the enormous exodus of the first crusade occurred. The host of pilgrims and warriors set out in many bands and by many different ways. The first to go were those of northeastern France and the lower Rhine, inspired by the fervent preaching of Peter the Hermit. One hapless French band under the leadership of Walter de Poissi and Walter the Penniless set out from Cologne in 1096.¹⁵ They went through Hungary to Belgrade, Nish and Constantinople. Peter followed with a German host, gathered also at Cologne, apparently by the same route.¹⁶ A second band of Germans under a priest named Gotschalk followed next, still by the same Danube road,¹⁷ then a mixed host under the priest Folkmar struggled through Bohemia.¹⁸ Finally a fifth army set out under Count Emicho but got only a little way past Vienna.¹⁹ The first of these bands is the only one which actually came from France, but all serve to show the well-established road from Flanders and Lorraine to the east.

The real armies of the Crusade started a little later, in five separate hosts. Perhaps to some extent because of the difficulty of provisioning such a multitude, they followed different routes. First went Hugh of Vermandois, brother to the King of France, with an army presumably from France and Burgundy. He marched south into Italy, perhaps by the Langres-Besançon road, and continuing into Apulia crossed the Adriatic to Durazzo.²⁰ Here he was taken prisoner and sent direct to Constantinople.

Next came the northern army from the lower Rhine, under

¹⁵ FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Hist. Jherosolym*, ch. VI; TUDEBOV, *Hist. de Hierosolym Itin.* Bk. I, ch. IV.

¹⁶ TUDEBOV, Bk. I, ch. II; FULCHER, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ WM. OF TYRE, *Hist.* Bk. I, ch. 27.

¹⁸ EKKEHARD, *chron. Ann. 1076* (in *Mon. Ger. hist. Scrip.* Vol. VI, p. 208).

¹⁹ WM. OF TYRE, *op. cit.* Bk. I, ch. 29.

²⁰ FULCHER, *loc. cit.*; TUDEBOV, Bk. I, ch. V.

Godfrey of Bouillon, heir to Boulogne and duke of Lorraine. He travelled by Germany and the Danube road.²¹

The third army was of the men of the Langue d'Oc, from Gascony and Provence, under Raymond of St. Gilles, Duke of Narbonne, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence. With him went the papal legate Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy. As might be expected, this troupe crossed into Lombardy by the western Alps and out again at the east. Instead of continuing to the Danube route, however, it followed a less exhausted though more difficult path, by the Dalmatian coast to Durazzo and then east across Macedonia and Thrace.²² The fourth army, under Robert of Normandy, accompanied by Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, and Robert, Count of Flanders, came from the northwest of France. This, too, went south through Italy and crossed from Bari to Durazzo.²³ The fifth section, under Bohemond and Tancred, Norman lords of southern Italy, also crossed from Apulia to Durazzo, a four days' voyage.²⁴ None of all this great host made the longer voyage by sea, which before the tenth century was the common route.

On the second crusade in 1147, Louis VII led his contingent again by the land route from Metz, crossing the Rhine at Worms, to Constantinople;²⁵ but those of England, Normandy and Flanders chose the long way round by sea, as in fact a small Norman-Flemish fleet under Winimer of Boulogne had done in 1097.²⁶ After this time the water route becomes increasingly popular.²⁷

²¹ FULCHER, *loc. cit.*; TUDEBOV, Bk. I, ch. VI.

²² FULCHER, *loc. cit.*; TUDEBOV. Bk. I, ch. V.

²³ FULCHER, ch. VI-VIII; TUDEBOV, Bk. I, ch. V.

²⁴ FULCHER, ch. VI; TUDEBOV. Bk. I, ch. VII.

²⁵ ODO OF DEUIL, *de via S. Sepulc.* ep. 2 (in PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. hist. Script.* Vol. XXVI, p. 61).

²⁶ ALBERT OF AIX. *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Bk. III, ch. XIV.

²⁷ Cf. DE LA RONCIERE, *Hist. de la marine française*. Vol. I, pp.

The pilgrimages to Jerusalem give no information about the traffic ways within France but they point to concentrations from the whole country at certain frontier points; at the southern ports of France and the Alpine passes before the IXth century and after the Xth, and in the interval, at Cologne and especially at Mayence.

The pilgrimage to Rome ranked second in importance to that to Jerusalem. The English seem to have travelled there in large numbers from very early times.²⁸ And the danger of the way, particularly in the ninth century, when the Saracens occupied the passes of the Alps apparently had no power to dissuade them. It is surprising how many times Flodoard mentions the attacks of these Alpine banditti on the Anglo-Saxons and the French pilgrims who accompanied them.²⁹ His knowledge of these affairs indicates that the road from England to Rome led, as one would expect, through Rheims. Pilgrims from Rheims itself³⁰ and from all the eastern part of France probably followed the same route by Châlons-sur-Marne, Langres and Besançon; the Alps must have been crossed by the little St. Bernard pass.³¹ Those from Lorraine may have chosen the imperial highway up the Rhine.

The pilgrims' way from the west of France is harder to decide. In the sixth century it certainly went down the Rhône from Lyons to Marseilles and then by boat to Rome;³² though

²⁸ In 747 St. Boniface writes to St. Cuthbert to advise against the frequency with which English women and nuns make the journey. BONIF. *Epis. ep. 78* (*Mon. Germ. hist. Ep.* Vol. III, pp. 354-355.)

²⁹ FLODOARD, *Chron. Ann.* 921, 923, 939, 940.

³⁰ *Ibid. Ann.* 920.

³¹ The occupation of the town of St. Maurice by the Saracens prevented a body of French and English pilgrims from returning home. (*Ibid. ann. 940.*) See, however, below, p. 85, Note 74.

³² A deacon of St. Martin's at Tours returned (c. 590) from Rome by boat to Marseilles (GREG. TOUR., *Gloria Martyr.*, ch. 82) and passed through Lyons (*ibid. Vitae Patrum*, Bk. VIII. ch. 6); another messenger also stopped at Lyons on his homeward journey from Marseilles (*ibid.*).

whether it came by Bourges to Nevers and so to Chalon-sur-Saône or followed around the great bend of the Loire at Orléans is uncertain. From the beginning of the tenth century until the destruction of the Saracen fleet by the Pisans in 1063, the south coast of France and the neighboring seas were quite unsafe. Between 878 and 1118 no pope came to France by sea,³³ instead, the passes by the western Alps to the Rhône valley were commonly used. These passes too, were filled with brigands and with Saracens,³⁴ but even so were safer than the sea. The pilgrims from the west and south of France must have gone that way, gathering from Nevers and Lyons, from the road by Limoges to the Tarn and from the Pyrénées to the lower Rhône. Narbonne must have ceased to harbor them at an early date. In the ninth century they probably still took ship from Arles and Marseilles to the Holy City; and after the eleventh, Marseilles again, and the growing port of Montpellier³⁵ lodged their bands. In the intervals, the road by Nîmes to the Rhône, and the passes of Mont Genèvre and Mont Cenis, brought them to Lombardy. From this period (late Xth century) dates the erection of the hospices by St. Bernard, in the passes which bear his name, and a little later the founding of the six refuges from the Lautaret to the summit of the Mont Genèvre pass, and the rebuilding of the abbey of St. Michel-de-la-Cluse in the pass of Mont Cenis.³⁶ The press of pilgrims, crossing the Rhône to Avignon, which

³³ See above pp. 53-58.

³⁴ The bishop of Tours was killed by bandits while crossing the Alps in 931 (FLODOARD, *Chron. ann. 931*) and about the same time St. Maieul of Cluny was held for ransom by the Saracens on his return from Italy. (BAOUL GLABER, *Hist. Bk. I, Ch. IV*).

³⁵ In the latter part of the XIIth c. BANJAMIN OF TUDELA speaks of Montpellier as "a place very favorable for commerce, where crowds of Christians and Saracens come to trade, where are gathered Arabs from the Garb (north Africa), merchants from Lombardy, from the kingdom of great Rome, from all parts of Egypt, from the land of Israel, from Greece, Gaul, Spain, England, Genoa and Pisa, who speak there all languages." (*Itin-ararum*)

³⁶ PIGEONNEAU, *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, p. 189-190.

inspired St. Benezet to build his bridge there (1177-1189),³⁷ proves that the traffic across the Alps did not seriously diminish with the resumption of the sea routes.

Within the limits of France by far the greatest center of pilgrimages, in the centuries we are considering, was the tomb of St. Martin at Tours. As early as the beginning of the fifth century, within a few decades of St. Martin's death, Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, writes of the summer journeyings to Tours.³⁸ It was undoubtedly the number of pilgrims as much as the frequency of the miracles there, that impelled Perpetuus, in 460, to rebuild the church on a larger scale, and at the same time made it possible for him to do so.³⁹ In the ninth century this pilgrimage and that to Rome were classed together as the two most important in the western world.⁴⁰

Raoul Glaber states that during a horrible pestilence at the end of the tenth century, the three shrines which drew the greatest throngs of the faithful, because of their proven efficacy in holy healing, were those of St. Martin at Tours, St. Odalric of Bavaria and St. Maieul of Cluny. Raoul was a highly enthusiastic Cluniac and probably gave more credit to his favorite than another would have done. It can hardly be that Cluny was a great pilgrimage center in the late tenth century, for when Bouchard, count of Melun and Corbeil, sought the abbot of Cluny (c.989), Maieul expressed great surprise that he should under-

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 191; LEVASSEUR. *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, Vol. I, p. 191.

³⁸ ST. PAULIN. NOL., *epis. XVII*, ch. 4. "....qua Gallicanas peregrinationes tot annis frequenter et iteratis saepe intra unam aestatem excursibus Turonos et remotiora visitas. Non invideo, praedico magis devotionem tuam in domino, quam in servis suis admiraris et honoras. Juste fateor et merito Martinum frequentari;"

³⁹ GREG. TOUR. *Hist. Francæ*, Bk. II, ch. XIV.

⁴⁰ Second Council of Châlons (813) ch. XLIV,—*nundinas insolenter peragrade, Roman sive Turonum absque licentia episcopi sui adire*—ch. XLV, *Nam et a quibusdam, qui Romam Turonumve, et alia quaedam loca sub praetextu orationis inconsulte peragrant—sub praetextu Romani, sive Turonici itineris—*

take such a difficult journey, so far from his own country.⁴¹ In the late eleventh century Cluny was the goal of many travellers, but these were more likely to be priests and prelates and nobles concerned with church and lay politics, than simple pilgrims seeking to save their souls from the devil, or their bodies from disease. The saints of Cluny ranked neither as martyrs nor as apostles to the pagan, their appeal to the imagination could not have compared with that of St. Martin, St. Denis or St. Remi, so that, for all its riches and fame, I doubt if Cluny could ever have been a really popular resort.⁴²

⁴¹ *Vita bouchardus*, ch. III, published in the *coll. de Textes pour servir à l'étude, etc.*

⁴² A rough estimate of the popularity of the various saints and the influence of their shrines in Mediaeval France, may be had from the comparative frequency with which their names occur in the geography of Modern France. In almost all such cases the place names are due to monasteries, secular churches or shrines which formerly marked the localities. The modern list, of course, does not give all the names which existed in the middle ages, but the great majority of the names which it does give date back to the XIIIth c. at least, as is shown by the very small number of towns named for St. Francis, St. Louis, or St. Dominic. As given in ST. MARTIN and ROUSSELET, *Nouv. dict. de géographie universelle*, the frequency of saints' names occurring in France is approximately as follows:—

St. Martin	133	St. Paul	38
St. Jean (2)	102	St. Maurice	32
St. Pierre	82	St. Sauveur	28
St. Germain (2)	71	St. Sulpice	28
St. Julien	59	St. Bonnet	26
St. Laurent	56	St. Léger	23
St. Cyr (including various other forms of the name)	54	St. Nicholas	23
St. André	50	St. Vincent	23
St. Georges	50	St. Remi	22
St. Etienne (2)	47	St. Romain	22
St. Hilaire	44	St. Just	20
St. Denis	39	St. Quentin	20
St. Aubin	38	All others under twenty	

The dedications to St. Jean include both those to the Apostle and to the Baptist, to whom almost all baptistries were dedicated. St. Germain includes the saint of Paris and the greater one of Auxerre, and St. Etienne perhaps the king of Hungary as well as the protomartyr. The vocable St.

To return to Tours; St. Martin's shrine held its own through the tenth⁴³ and the eleventh⁴⁴ centuries, but in the twelfth century its popularity became somewhat eclipsed by newer and, perhaps for that reason, more vigorously wonder-working shrines. In the condemnations of the Inquisition at Carcassonne, dating from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries it is not mentioned as a major—or even as a minor—pilgrimage.⁴⁵

But whether because the fame of St. Martin turned all steps toward Tours in the earlier times, or because the strategic position of the city at the crossing of the Loire spread his reputation with the merchants' enterprise throughout France, Tours became under the Carolingians and first Capetians the focus of all the routes west of the Seine and Loire. It is probable that without its celestial patron much of its commerce would have passed by Blois or Orléans; it is certain that the multitude of pilgrims, and those who catered to them, set Tours in a position

Julien probably indicates, in the great number of cases, hospices set up by the order of *St. Julien l'hôpitalier*. St. Laurent, St. André and St. Georges are the patrons of Spain, Scotland and England; which may have something to do with their popularity. So it is apparent that the shrine of St. Martin was at least twice as important as that of St. Germain at Auxerre and three times as important as that of St. Hilaire at Poitiers. There are only five dedications to St. Jacques, and none at all to St. Maieul.

The Archangels, of course, do not as readily provide relics as the saints, and consequently have fewer shrines dedicated to them. The frequency of their names is:—

St. Michel	32
St. Gabriel	3
St. Raphael	1

⁴³ Cf. pilgrimage of Raoul of Burgundy from Vienne (FLODOARD, *op. cit. ann. 931* and FLODOARD'S own attempted trip, *ibid. ann. 940*).

⁴⁴ The pilgrimage to Tours or Rome was required by PETER DAMIANI of the clerics of Milan in 1059—"Hoc insuper domino archiepiscopo promittente quod omnes orationis causa procul ipse dirigeret, sive videlicet Romam, sive Turonum; ipse autem archiepiscopus profecturum se ad B. Jacobi venerabilem tumulum, qui est in Hispania, disponebat." PETER DAMIANI, *Actus Mediol.* 84; (MIGNE, *Pat. lat.* Vol. CXLV, p. 98.)

⁴⁵ According to a list published by DOAT, Vol. XXI, the major pilgrimages were to Santiago-de-Compostella, Rome and St. Thomas of Canter-

of religious and intellectual leadership which could compare with the commercial and political leadership of Rheims.

Second in importance of the French shrines was the abbey of Mont St. Michel.⁴⁴ Founded at the beginning of the eighth century, by the ninth century a small village of fugitives from the Normans had gathered about the little church. Probably the picturesqueness of the spot and the marvel of the sweeping tides drew many inland dwellers and Mediterranean folk. In 870 or thereabouts the monk Bernard mentions the twice recurring daily ebb and flow and the extraordinary phenomenon that on the feast day of the Saint the waters permit worshippers to reach the mountain at any hour, which is possible on no other day.⁴⁵ Raoul Glaber,⁴⁶ speaking of the fire which destroyed the church there in 992, says that this shrine is venerated throughout the universe, and,—perhaps with a partisan spirit,—adds, that travellers come there from many lands *particularly*

bury, and the minor pilgrimages (from Carcassonne) to Le Puy, St. Gilles, Rocamadour, Soulac, St. Antoine-de-Vienne, St. Denis, Verdelais, St. Sauveur-de-Asturia, St. Pierre-de-Genèras, St. Martial-de-Limoges and St. Léonard. A century later (1306-1323) the major pilgrimages were Rome, Santiago-de-Compostella, St. Thomas of Canterbury and the Three Kings of Cologne, while the minor pilgrimages had increased to include Rocamadour, Le Puy, Vauvert, Notre-Dames-des-Tables at Montpellier, Sérgnan (Hérault), St. Guilhem-du-Désert, Montmajour, Ste. Marthe-de-Tarascon, St. Maximin, St. Antoine-de-Vienne, St. Martial-de-Limoges, St. Léonard, St. Denis, Chartres, Notre-Dame-de-Paris, Notre-Dame-de-Boulogne-sur-Mer, Pontoise, St. Séverin-de-Bordeaux, Soulac, Conques (Aveyron), St. Paul-de-Narbonne, St. Vincent-de-Castres, St. Dominic of Bologna, (Cited by DOUAIS, *Doc. pour servir à l'hist. de l'inquisition* Vol. II, p. 159, Note 1.)

⁴⁴ See above p. 74, Note 42.

⁴⁵ BERNARDUS. *Itinerarium ch. XXII* (See above p. 30.) “....In summitate cuius montis est ecclesia in honore sancti Michaelis, et in circuitu illius montis redundant mare cotidie duabus vicibus, id est mane et vespere, et non possunt homines adire montem, donec mare recesserit. In festivitate autem sancti Michaelis conjungitur mare in redundando in circuitu illius montis, sed stat ad instar murorum a dextris et a sinistris. Et in ipsa die solemni posseunt omnes quicunque ad orationem venerint, omnibus horis adire montem, quod tamen alii non posseunt diebus.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* Bk. III, ch. III.

on account of the wonder of the tides. For the action of the moon upon the ocean is better to be observed there, he says, than in any other place.

By the end of the eleventh century the Archangel and the monastery are so closely linked in the popular imagination that the epithet of the island "In peril of the sea" is attached to Michael's name as if it were the domain of which he was feudal lord. As one would speak of "Godfrey-de-Bouillon" so one speaks of "St. Michel-de-la-mer-del-peril." *

No information is to be had as to what roads led thither, but it seems likely that pilgrims from the south and east passed through Le Mans and then along an unknown route possibly by way of Mayenne. There was also without doubt, a northern road, leading from the Normandy coast through Bayeux and Coutances and probably a southern one from Rennes.

The tomb of St. Remi at Rheims and that of St. Denis near Paris were also shrines of considerable note⁵⁰ but they never seem to have served as important points of pilgrimage. The Abbey of St. Remi received many visitors yearly, but the majority were passing through the city anyway on other business, from the Rhine to France or from England or Flanders to Rome. The same is true of the Abbey of St. Denis. Suger⁵¹ describes with vividness the frightful crush of people in the church at certain periods, but the chief of these occasions was the feast of *lendit* when the great fair was being held. The fact that the Carolingian church did not need enlargement until 1140 indicates that the fair rather than religion served to draw the

* *Chanson de Roland*, II, 2393-2395

Deus li tramist sun angle cherubin

E sent Michiel de la mer del peril,

Ensemble od el sent Gabriel i vint,

Another version gives the second line thus—

Seint Raphael, seint Michiel de peril

⁵⁰ See above p. 74, Note 42.

⁵¹ *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*. pub. in BOUQUET, *Histor. de France*, Vol. XII, p. 96 D, and note d.

crowd. Probably more popular, though still not to be compared with that of St. Martin, were the shrines of St. Germain at Auxerre and St. Hilaire at Poitiers;⁵² both towns as we have seen, are important traffic centers.

The cathedrals of Chartres and of Le Puy are the only two cathedrals which attracted many visitors, and these could not be ranked as resorts of the first magnitude. They undoubtedly served to develop roads where roads would otherwise have been neglected, for neither is on any important route, but I doubt if either had any great effect on the general mass of traffic.

The remaining great pilgrimage of Mediaeval Europe, to the church of St. James or "Santiago" at Compostella in the extreme northwestern corner of Spain, comes into prominence at a somewhat later date.⁵³ The first notice of the translation of the relics of the Saint there is in the early tenth century.⁵⁴ The great church was begun between 1075 and 1078,⁵⁵ by which time pilgrims must have already become numerous.⁵⁶ A century later the work was not completed, and the dedication did not take place until 1211, but the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries must have seen the roads of northern Spain filled with devout travellers.⁵⁷ Already by 1131 it requires serious urging on the part of the bishop of Tours to dissuade the count of Anjou from undertaking the trip.⁵⁸ A little later it is named

⁵² See above p. 74, Note 42.

⁵³ Cf. above p. 74, Note 42, among the earliest recorded journeys thither is that of Archbishop Wido of Milan, 1059. See above p. 75, Note 44.

⁵⁴ NOTKER BALBULUS, *Martyrol.*—VIII Kal. Aug. (in MIGNE, *pat. lat.* Vol. CXXXI, 1125).

⁵⁵ MORTET, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. de l'architecture*, in *Collec. de textes pour servir, à l'étude*, p. 406, Note 7.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 75, Note 44.

⁵⁷ The curious history of the pseudo-Turpin (bef. 1122) is practically an advertisement for the shrine. The famous journey of Charlemagne into Spain, was undertaken, according to the author, solely for the purpose of re-discovering the body of St. James. See especially the praises of the saint in Chapter XIX.

⁵⁸ HILDEBERT, in BOUQUET, *Histor. de France* Vol. XV, p. 327.

as one of the four great centers of pilgrimage, having quite eclipsed the shrine at Tours.⁵⁹

At this time the trip to Santiago ranked with that to Rome or Jerusalem.⁶⁰ It was particularly popular in England and seems to have been made as a rule by sea,⁶¹ the landing being probably at Bordeaux, Bayonne or some other port in English Aquitaine. In France the road undoubtedly led at the east of the Pyranees from Toulouse and the Golfe du Lion over the Col de la Perche, and at the west, from Bordeaux over the pass of Roncesvalles. This pilgrimage undoubtedly helped greatly in the development of the west coast and of Bordeaux, which since the sixth century had been comparatively unimportant. However, this development was rather later than the period in consideration; during the early part of the dark ages the interest of southwestern France seems all to have centered about Albi and Toulouse.

The effect of the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostella was to increase greatly the traffic in France, and to focus it—presumably by the same roads used in the royal and papal journeys—and draw it in and out of France by Cologne, Mayence, the passes of the Alps from Burgundy and the lower Rhône, by the ports of southern France (before the tenth century) and by the passes of the Pyranees. The shrine of St. Michel served to gather it to the fourth corner, the extreme northwest, but involved no foreign travel. And as opposed to these centrifugal forces, the shrine of St. Martin served to

⁵⁹ In the Registers of the Inquisition at Carcassonne, see above p. 75, Note 45.

⁶⁰ "Postea debetis pro iter agentibus Deus exorare, aut qui Hierosolimam aut Romam petierunt, vel Sanctum Jacobum, aut alia sancta loca visitaverunt, ut Deus vota illorum suscipiat et eos incolumes amicis suis cum pace restituat. Amen." HONORIUS OF AUTUN. *Spec. eccl.* (c. 1130) MIGNE pat. lat. CLXXII, p. 828.

⁶¹ Cf. The amusing picture of a voyage there in the fifteenth century. *The Pilgrim's Sea Voyage* published with *The Stations of Rome* by the Early English Text Soc.

bring many foreign pilgrims to the heart of France and to lead through the town of Tours all traffic southwest of the Seine. Similarly, though to a less degree, the relics of St. Denis, St. Remi, St. Germain and St. Hilaire tended to increase and concentrate the traffic through Paris, Rheims, Auxerre and Poitiers.

Of even greater importance than political or religious intercourse in shaping the highways of a nation is the traffic of commerce. There has been much debate ⁶² as to whether the markets of the middle ages caused the growth of the towns or the towns the growth of the markets. In the same way it might be debated whether the location of the highways was determined by the important towns they served, or whether towns could only spring up and become important along the routes of commercial intercourse. Of these two points of view the latter is probably the truer. Great commercial routes are begun as trails, at very early times, to connect far distant regions. Their termini may be fixed by ports or other towns which have been located by peculiar geographic factors, but in the running of the trail it is the natural obstacles, mountains, swamps and rivers which determine its course, not the almost temporary "duns" and "steads" which dot the country in the days when the trails are young. Where a river is crossed there is a halt in travel, where two roads intersect there is a concourse formed. It is not fundamentally true then, to say that markets make towns or that towns make markets; the real truth is that both are formed simultaneously by bridges ⁶³ and cross roads. Paris is a town formed by its bridges, Rheims is formed by the many roads that center there, Tours had both factors to stimulate its growth.

The lines of commercial intercourse are therefore of the utmost importance. Unfortunately the merchants of the dark

⁶² CUNNINGHAM, *Western Civilization* (Mediaeval & Modern) pp. 56-57. cf. ARNOLD, *Verfassungsgeschichte* II, 126.

⁶³ See above pp. 18 ff.

ages were even more reticent than the pilgrims. The latter have left few records of their travels, the former none at all. There has been a tendency on this account to believe that commerce in the ninth and tenth century was practically non-existent. It is certainly true that in the subdivision of France into small mutually antagonistic feudal states, it became necessary to develop "home industries" within each of them.⁶⁴ It is even possible that taxes were levied by feudal nobles to prevent goods from going out of their territories, but the major part of such taxes was for the simple and obvious purpose of revenue, only, and the modern idea of a protective tariff to exclude foreign goods would have seemed the height of absurdity.⁶⁵ Moreover, there were many raw materials not found in all localities and articles of luxury from foreign lands which it would be absolutely necessary to import, so that the mere use of iron, say, in Normandy, or salt at Lyons, presupposes a certain amount of commercial intercourse. And it may be possible from a review of the known articles of production and consumption in ancient France to divine vaguely but surely the necessary lines of commerce.

In the first place products which were locally grown and consumed must be disregarded. The most important of these are indicated in Charlemagne's capitulary "*De villis*."⁶⁶ Each estate was expected to produce vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, wax and soap. On each estate there were to be cow-houses, piggeries, sheepfolds and goat stables, and every steward was to have in his employ blacksmiths, gold-smiths, silver-smiths, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, sword-makers, fishermen, foilers, soap-makers, brewers, bakers, net makers and "others too numerous to mention." These materials and the work of these

⁶⁴ Cf. PIGEONNEAU, *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff.

⁶⁵ Cf. LEVASSEUR, *Hist. du commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 103.

⁶⁶ BORETIUS, *Mon. Germ. hist. Legum*, Sect. II, Vol. I, pp. 83-90.

craftsmen, unless of exceptionally fine quality, being produced in each locality, would not be articles of trade. But there are certain raw materials mentioned in the capitulary which could not be found in every place and which would, in the majority of "villas" be objects of import. These are iron, lead, gold and silver, salt, and for the textile work of the women, woad, vermillion and madder. In the cities, of course, the food supply must also have been imported, but this was a matter of limited local trade and was to a large extent river borne;⁶⁷ it therefore would be of no effect in determining general commercial routes.

The objects then, which were important in general commerce were:—

Minerals:

Iron, copper, lead, tin, gold, silver.

Food stuffs: (*of special quality*)

Wine, honey, oil, cheese, salt fish, spices.

Other raw materials:

Die stuffs, furs.

Manufactured articles: (*foreign or of special local quality*)

Textiles (silk, cotton, wool), leather, arms, jewelry.

Jewels:

Precious stones, amber, coral.

Animals: (*of special quality*)

Horses, dogs, falcons.

In Gallo-Roman times iron mines were worked in Berry, Senonais, Périgord, Rouergue and the valley of the Rhône and Saône; copper came from the Pyranees (St. Etienne-de-Baigorry) from the Alps (Haute-Savoie) and from the Cévennes (Cabrière, dept. of Hérault, and Chessy, dept. of Rhône); lead from Spain, and mixed with silver, from Rouergue, Gévaudan and Haute-Savoie; tin from Limousin;⁶⁸ tin and lead were also

⁶⁷ See above pp. 11 ff.

⁶⁸ For the natural products of Roman Gaul see DESJARDIN, *Géog. de la Gaule*, Vol. I, pp. 408 ff.

imported from Britain.⁶⁹ The gold native to Gallic rivers was quickly exhausted and had to be brought from the east. Among the food stuffs, wine was produced by the fifth century throughout all of Gaul south of Paris,—that from the côte d'or in Burgundy, from near Bordeaux and the valley of the Loire being however, at all times of particularly good quality; oil came only from the extreme south, from Italy and especially from Spain, while in return honey, wax, and cheese, though produced to some extent throughout France, were particularly abundant in the northwestern part. Salt and salt fish,—an article of much importance in all Catholic countries,—came from the whole sea coast, while spices and perfumes were exclusively imported from the east. Of the die stuffs vermillion came from Spain, and perhaps at a later date also from Hungary, woad from the valley of the Garonne,⁷⁰ madder from Provence, and saffron also from southern France. Furs, of course, came from the north, particularly from the Baltic region and from Hungary. Of the textiles, silk and cotton came exclusively from the east, woolen goods were made all over France, but those of Flanders and Frisia, famous in Roman times,⁷¹ were unequalled in the middle ages throughout the civilized world.⁷² Hides, like wool, were produced throughout France but the finest quality of dressed leather was the "cordovan" from Spain. There seems to have been no especial center for the manufacture of arms or for jewelers work, though Limoges from the time of St. Eloi (VIIth century) was noted for its goldsmiths and enamel work. The jewels themselves came almost wholly from the east, by Hungary or through Spain. Amber, however was

⁶⁹ Corn, cattle, gold, silver, skins, slaves and hunting dogs were imported from the British Isles before the Roman conquest of Gaul (STRABO, *Geog.* lib. 4, ch. V, § 2) also tin. (DIODOR. SIC. Bk. V, 22; See above p. 17.)

⁷⁰ PIGEONNEAU. *Hist. du commerce* Vol. I, p. 103, Note 3.

⁷¹ "Donati sunt ab Atrebaticis birri petiti" (c. 283 A. D.) FLAVIUS VOSPISCUS, *de Gallis* (BOUQUET, *Histor. de France.* Vol. I, p. 541.)

⁷² Cf. THOMPSON, *op. cit.* pp. 860-861.

brought from the Baltic, and coral from Italy. Flanders was famous for its horses, while the Arabian steeds of Spain were supremely prized. Ireland in early times exported many hunting dogs to France,⁷² and the best falcons were to be had from Scandinavia.

France itself was apparently not especially rich in export produce. Wine probably held the first place. From the Loire and from Burgundy it would be carried to the north countries of Normandy and Flanders, by the road north from Tours, by the road through Rheims, particularly by boat down the Seine. From Poitou and Gascony it might have been brought by the road through Poitiers, but more probably it would be carried by sea. From Rouen and from Bordeaux it was shipped to England, particularly after the Norman conquest, and from Burgundy it was probably sent by Rheims and Mayence to Germany and Scandinavia, though in this direction it would have to compete with the vintages of the Rhine. As a whole the wine trade is so generally distributed that it does not seem to follow any particular highway. The same is true of salt and salt fish which must have been carried inland from the whole sea coast, by any road that might offer. The minerals of France may have been marketed throughout the country, but there could have been little export trade in them, for France's neighbors are in general better supplied with metals than is France herself. She would, however, act as an intermediary to carry the gold of Hungary to England and to Spain, and the iron of the Baltic and the tin of England to Spain and Italy.

The woolen cloths of Flanders were the only home products for which France found a world wide market; otherwise her

⁷²St. Patrick at the beginning of the fifth century, sailed from Ireland to Gaul, probably landing at Bordeaux, and then travelled overland for four weeks through desert country—probably the Garonne valley—finally reaching Italy. The cargo of the merchant with whom he travelled consisted of dogs. cf. BURY, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 31 ff, and Appendix C. 6.

commerce could only have been a carrying trade back and forth; from England to Hungary, Italy and Spain; and from Italy, Hungary, Scandinavia and the Baltic to Spain. The traffic from Scandinavia to Italy most probably followed the Rhine or went due south through Bavaria. The through routes for this carrying trade are already clearly marked. Merchandise from England would be shipped to Boulogne-sur-Mer and from there be carried to the southeast by Cologne or by Rheims and Metz, into Hungary. That bound for Italy would continue from Rheims to Châlons-sur-Marne and then reach the Alps by Langres and Besançon, or perhaps go all the way by the Rhine valley; that for Spain would turn southwest from Châlons and reach the Pyrénées by Auvergne or continue by Langres to the valley of the Rhône⁷⁴ and the seacoast, or possibly be shipped to Rouen or the west ports of France and travel the road through Poitou, Santonge and Bordelaise to the western passes. The route to Spain from the countries east of the Rhine would enter France at Cologne, Coblenz or Mayence, pass through Metz and Champagne, and by Auvergne or the Rhône valley and the Narbonnaise, reach the Col de la Perche. It might also swing west by Cambrai, Rouen, Tours and Poitiers, and so south. From Italy to Spain the routes, of course, would reach the Rhône at Valence or Avignon, cross at Avignon, Tarascon or Arles and follow the coast to the roads of the Pyrénées.

Amiens, Cambrai, Châlons-sur-Marne and Metz form a quadrilateral through which most of these roads run, with Rheims at about the center of this traffic focus. And just at the northern

⁷⁴ *Miracles of St. Bertin.* AA.SS. Sept. 5, P. 1597. "Junxit se Saxoni-
bus ultramarinis Romam pargentilius, cumque una cum illis peruenisset
ultra Lingonum civitatem, consociarunt se eis Virudunenses negotiatores,
eamdem viam tendentes, usque ad divaricationem viae ducentis in Hispaniam." (Xth century) If Anglo-Saxons bound for Rome and merchants
from Verdun going to Spain follow the same route beyond Langres, it is
evident that the "road leading into Spain" must in this case have de-
scended the Rhone valley and that the English pilgrims also followed the
Rhone valley to the Alpine passes.

edge of this area lies Arras, the southern outpost of the cloth manufacturing towns of Flanders.⁷⁵ Industrial and commercial centers in such immediate juxtaposition were bound to react upon each other; so it is not surprising that at an early time the northwest corner of France became the richest section, and that in which the *bourgeois* were the most powerful.

"The extent and the character of the commerce passing through Flanders is admirably shown in a list of the thirteenth or fourteenth century reproduced by WARNKOENIG. *Hist. de la Flandre*, Vol. II, "piece justificative" No. XXXV. It reads as follows:

"These are the kingdoms and the lands from which merchandise comes to Bruges and the land of Flanders, to wit the matters which follow hereafter.

From the kingdom of England come wool, *aur* (gold?), lead, tin, rock-coal, cheese.

From the kingdom of Scotland come wool, hides, cheese and tallow.

From the kingdom of Ireland come hides and wool.

From the kingdom of Norway come gerfalcons, lumber, boiled hides, butter, tallow, grease and pitch, goat-skins from which cordovan is made.

From the kingdom of Denmark come riding horses, hides, grease, tallow, potash, herrings, hams.

From the kingdom of Sweden come furs, grease, tallow, lard, potash and *harpois* (pitch?).

From the kingdom of Russia come wax and furs.

From the kingdom of Hungary come wax, gold and silver in ingots.

From the kingdom of Bohemia come wax, gold and silver and tin.

From the kingdom of Germany come Rhine wines, pitch, potash, lumber, grain, iron and steel.

From the kingdom of Poland come gold and silver in ingots, wax, furs and copper.

From the bishopric of Liege and thereby come all sorts of wrought copper articles and kitchen utensils, and heavy lumber.

From the kingdom of Bulgaria come furs, ermine, sable and *letice*, (an unidentified fur).

From the kingdom of Navarre come spun wool for making serges, cordovan, sheep skins, licorice, almonds, peltries, sail-cloth for great ships.

From the kingdom of Arragon come such goods as from Navarre, and safran and rice.

From the kingdom of Castile come cochenille, wax, cordovan, sheepskins, spun wool, wool, peltries, quicksilver, tallow, wine, cumin, anis, almonds and iron.

From the kingdom of Leon come such goods as above mentioned, save iron.

The results, in the centuries which immediately follow our period, are very striking. In the thirteenth century the most famous fairs of France were those of Champagne and Brie held at Lagny-sur-Marne, Bar-sur-Aube, Provins (two) and Troyes (two)⁷⁶ all in the southern part of the commercial area on the roads leading to Spain and Italy. At these fairs was to be

From the kingdom of Andalusia, that is from Seville and from Cordova, come honey, olive oil, hides, peltries, wax, large figs and raisins.

From the kingdom of Granada come wax, silk, figs, raisins and almonds.

From the kingdom of Galicia come lard, quicksilver, wine, hides, peltries and lard (*sic*).

From the kingdom of Portugal come honey, peltries, wax, hides, cochenille, grease, oil, figs, raisins, Spanish brooms.

From the kingdom of Fez, in Africa, come wax, hides, and peltries.

From the kingdom of Morocco come similar wares and cumin and *brus* (brown or burnt⁷⁷) sugar.

From the kingdom of Segelmesse (foot of Mt. Atlas) which stands close to the Sahara, come dates and white alum.

From the kingdom of Bougie (near Algiers) come lamb peltries, hides, sugar and feather-alum.

From the kingdom of Tunis come similar goods as from Bougie.

From the kingdom of Majorca come alum and rice, hides, figs which grow in the land.

From the kingdom of Sardinia come peltries.

From the kingdom of Constantinople comes crystal alum.

From the kingdom of Jerusalem, from the kingdom of Egypt, from the land of the Sultan, come peppers and all spices and die-wood.

From the kingdom of Armenia come cottons and all other aforesaid spices.

From the kingdom of Tartary come cloths of gold and of silk of many sorts, and peltries and furs.

And from all these kingdoms and lands aforesaid come merchants and wares into the land of Flanders, exclusive of those which come from the kingdom of France and Poitou and Gascony and from the III isles where there are many kingdoms which we do not know how to name, whence every year come merchants to Flanders, and from many other countries. Wherefore no land is comparable in trade with the land of Flanders.

Explicit

It is curious that there is no mention of Italy in this list. Perhaps it is alluded to as the "three isles" (the two Sicilies!) or perhaps Italy only served to bring goods from the east and exported no national produce.

⁷⁶ Cf. LEVASSEUR, *Hist. du commerce de la France*. Vol. I, pp. 83 ff.

purchased cloth from Arras, Ghent, Ypres, Tournai, Lille, Douai, Cambrai, Gaches, Valenciennes, Montreuil-sur-Mer, St. Quentin, Abbeville, Avesnes, Aubenton (*Aisne*), Louvain, Louviers, Rouen, Beauvais, Châlons-sur-Marne, Orchies (*Nord*), Provins, Troyes, Sens, Huy (*prov. de Liège*), Malines, Maubeuge, Monceaux, Bruges, Bruxelles, Berney (*Eure*), St. Denis, Paris, Ligny, Rheims, Vitry, St. Dizier, Poperingues, Chartres, Senlis, Pontoise, Dixmude, Querhoent (*modern Montoire, Loir et Cher*), Amiens, Etampes, Meulan and Diest (*south Brabant*).⁷⁷ The spread of the industrial area in the thirteenth century west to Chartres, with the consequent re-development of the Paris-Sens road and the growing traffic of the Rhône valley from the southern French ports, had much to do with the location of these fairs so far south-west as Troyes. Their greatness is usually credited to the wise policy of the counts of Champagne and Brie and undoubtedly this helped, but if geographical factors had not already started a demand for markets in this region, no amount of enlightened legislation could have created them.⁷⁸

Other fairs of the thirteenth century, second in importance only to those of Champagne, were established at Thourrout, Bruges, Ypres and Lille in the northern part of the commercial area.⁷⁹ Of third rank were those of Rouen and Angers on the outer traffic route to the southwest; Caen and Guibray in Normandy and Guingamp in Brittany; and Chalon-sur-Saône and Dijon on the roads leading to the Rhône valleys. The south of France had its traffic center also. The routes from Spain to the northern countries by Auvergne and the Rhône valley and to

⁷⁷ WARNKOENIG, *Hist. de la Flandre*, Vol. II, pièce justif. XXXI.

⁷⁸ PIGEONNEAU, *Hist. du commerce de la France*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

⁷⁹ At the same period (XIIIth-XIVth c.) a commercial league called the Hanse of London was formed by the following towns: Châlons-sur-Marne, Rheims, St. Quentin, Cambrai, Lille, Ypres, Douais, Arras, Tournai, Péronne, Huy, Escouvins, Valenciennes, Ghent, Bruges, St. Omer, Montreuil-sur-Mer, Abbeville, Amiens, Beauvais, Dixmude, Bailleul, Poperinghe, Orchies (WARNKOENIG, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pièce just. XXXIV, iii.).

Italy by the Alps, made a region from the Rhône to Toulouse, similar in character to that about Rheims. This was further developed in the twelfth century by the re-opening of the Mediterranean ports to the commerce from Italy and the east.⁸⁰ As a result important fairs sprang up at Toulouse, Carcassonne and Nîmes and at Le Puy on the Auvergne route. But by far the greatest of the southern fairs was that at Beaucaire, where the road to the Alps and the north was interrupted by the Rhône.⁸¹

The effect of this commercial development upon the social history of France is immediately noticeable in the growth of the communes. The freedom of the towns of Flanders developed gradually and peacefully; so that by the eleventh century they had attained a high degree of independence, as is shown by their actions at the time of the assassination of Charles the Good in 1127, though their charters of communal rights are of a later date.⁸² But elsewhere the industrial bourgeoisie only gained its liberties by forcible revolt against its overlords. In such towns the dates of the communal revolutions, whether successful or not, indicate the periods at which commerce and industry were able to rise against the old feudal economy.

In the north the earliest attempts at communes⁸³ were at Cateau-Cambresis (1003), St. Quentin (1043-1076), Le Mans

⁸⁰ DE VERNEILH, *L'architecture byzantine en France*, pp. 129 ff. states that there was a Venetian colony at Limoges before the end of the Xth c. used as a depot on an overland route for Venetian traders from Montpellier (later from Aigues Mortes) to La Rochelle. Unfortunately he has this information at second hand, the original document on which it is based being now lost. La Rochelle and Aigues Mortes were hardly important ports before the XIIth century, and Montpellier seems to be his own unauthorized idea. Apparently Venetians helped in building the abbey of St. Martial-lès-Limoges in 1012, but I question if many Venetian vessels frequented the French ports before the end of the XIth century. Compare the overland route of St. Patrick, p. 84, Note 78.

⁸¹ See above p. 20.

⁸² WARNKOENIG, *Hist. de la Flandre*, (fr. trans. GHEDOLF), Vol. II, pp. 263 ff.

⁸³ LEVASSEUR, *Hist. du commerce*. Vol. I, p. 54, and *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, Vol. I, p. 240, Note 1.

(1073), Cambrai (1076), Amiens (1091-1115), Beauvais (before 1099), Noyon (1108), Mantes (1110), Laon (before 1112), Soissons (1113), Chatteauneuf near Tours, St. Riquier and Corbie (1125), St. Omer (1127), Bruyères-sous-Laon (1130), Rheims and Vézelay (1138), Sens, Etampes and Lorris-en-Gâtinais (1146), Rouen (1150). After the middle of the twelfth century a host of little towns obtained communal charters, and in the thirteenth such charters became still more numerous. A similar activity in the southern commercial district is shown by revolutions at Arles and Béziers (1131), Avignon (1136), Montpellier (1141), Nîmes (1145), Narbonne (1148) and Toulouse (1189).^{**}

Thus political evolution and commerce move hand in hand along the trunk lines of international traffic.

* * * *

A check for the traffic ways which have been gleaned from historical sources is provided by the map of Caroligian France which has been compiled by Lognon.^{**} (See Pl. II). This map shows the various *pagi* and villages of the ninth and tenth centuries, so far as they can be gathered from contemporary texts and from the ecclesiastical geography of the times. Of course many towns then existing are unrecorded, and on the other hand since the greater part of the annals and other documents which have survived were composed in the northeastern portion of France, the density of population indicated there is probably an exaggeration. A similar exaggeration is shown in the relative number of towns recorded near the monasteries of St. Gall and Cluny, and in the region southwest of Rennes. The full cartularies of these monasteries and the numerous campaigns of the French and Normans against the Bretons have probably preserved an excessive number of place-names in these regions. The variation in the size of the *pagi* in the different sections

^{**} LEVASSEUR, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*, Vol. I, p. 54.

^{**} Plates Nos. VII-X *Atlas hist. de la France*; text p. 89 ff.

shows however, that the apparent congestion in the northeast of France is not altogether misleading. For in all countries administrative districts are large where the population is light and small where it is dense, and the map of M. Lognon shows the smallest *pagi* to lie south of the Ardennes in an area bounded by lines drawn between Metz, Toul, Troyes, Paris, Senlis and Noyon, precisely where the towns are thickest. Similarly the *pagi* of Provence are small, where the population must have been comparatively dense though unrecorded, while those of the mountain regions and of Normandy and particularly of Aquitaine are relatively large. Allowing, then, for a certain exaggeration in sections of unusual historic publicity, localities where *pagi* are small or where many villages are shown must have been regions of particular agricultural fertility, or else regions devoted to industry or commerce. But agriculture writes no history, and the villages of purely agricultural districts would never have been known and shown upon this map unless political or commercial traffic had brought their names into the records. So areas where many settlements are named, must certainly have been traversed by important highways. On the other hand, in unfertile regions even the most travelled routes would have few towns to mark their courses. This is obviously true of the Alpine roads, where so few towns are shown that were it not for information from other sources, it might be doubted if any traffic passed that way at all.

On this map, therefore, routes through mountainous and barren regions are less strongly shown than they should be, while those in very fertile sections are probably overemphasized. These factors being properly discounted, the roads discernable are as follows.

Lorraine, Rhine Valley and Franche-Comté. From Nymwegen to Lake Constance the line of the Rhine highway shows clearly, though there is a curious gap between Coblenz and Bingen. South of Mayence the road seems not to follow the

river but to keep upon the neighboring heights, while the towns of Worms and Speyer in the valley, mark points for crossing into Germany.

The route up the valley of the Meuse from Coblenz to Trèves is also clearly shown, but even more strongly marked is a road from Cologne to Trèves. This was hardly indicated by the historical data. On the other hand, the road from Trèves to Mayence is only faintly shown.

The connections between Metz and the Rhine road are lost in the vacant spaces of the Vosges. The only suggestion of a route seems to run east from Metz, to about Sarrebrück, St. Jean and Neunkirchen, but there it disappears.

From Straesburg the Rhine road keeps westward of the Ill to a point above Colmar, where it forks, one branch going south-east to Bâle and continuing up the Rhine to Lake Constance, while the other runs in approximately a straight line to meet the Lausanne-Besançon highway between Orbe and Besançon. This branch has not been met in the journeys of the kings of France, but the Emperor, Charles the Fat, certainly followed it in 879,^{**} and it is probable that much of the intercourse between the Rhine valley and Lombardy passed by it over the Little St. Bernard. Certainly this road into the Franche-Comté seems more thickly settled than that to Bâle, though there is a distinct thinning out as it leaves the Rhine and mounts into the less profitable country. There is also a branch from somewhere near Delle skirting the east end of the little Lake of Bienna to join a road which runs from Lausanne to the Rhine by Berne and the slopes between Lake Lucerne and the river Aar.

Flanders. The northeast of France is so densely spotted with towns that the lines of communication are somewhat obscured. Nevertheless the road from Cologne by Liège to Valenciennes and Cambrai shows very distinctly, while hardly less

^{**} See above p. 47.

well marked is its continuation to Boulogne-sur-Mer, a stretch of road of commercial importance not indicated in the political journeys. The road from Liège by Ghent and Bruges to the coast can also be distinguished, as well as that along the coast from Bruges to Boulogne, that from Ghent to Valenciennes and Cambrai, and still more clearly that from Ghent by Lille and Arras to Amiens. From Cambrai south to St. Quentin, Laon and Quierzy, the settlements are more scattered than one would expect, indicating that this communication was political rather than commercial. From Boulogne south and west the coast is dotted thickly with towns as far as the neighborhood of Dieppe. Here the line turns south to Rouen. Another line from Abbeville by Amiens toward Noyon marks the traffic route to the *Ile-de-France*. There is no indication of the road from Amiens to Rouen, apparently this also was more a political than a commercial route; on the other hand there is a strong suggestion of roads from Abbeville and Beauvais crossing the Seine at Vernon and Mantes and continuing by Dreux to Chartres.

Ile-de-France. From Noyon to Châlons-sur-Marne there is a densely settled area including the towns of Laon, Soissons and Rheims. It is continued east, somewhat more sparsely, as far as Metz. This second zone lies rather to the north of Verdun, includes Attigny and Douzi, and to the west of these towns extends even somewhat further north. Throughout these areas intercommunicating roads must have run in all directions. The routes of the Oise from Noyon by Compiègne and Senlis to Paris, and that of the Marne by Chateau-Thierry and Meaux, are both clearly shown; the former being the more heavily marked. There is also a clear line of communication, not given in the political itineraries, from Rheims and Châlons-sur-Marne by Provins and Sens to the region of Auxerre.

Champagne, Burgundy and Lorraine. The largest continuously settled area on the whole map stretches along a line from Nevers through Auxerre, Troyes, Ponthion, and Verdun to

Trèves. The density of population is not so great here as in the region between Châlons-sur-Marne and Noyon but is only second to it. At the northern end this area broadens to the southeast to include Metz and Toul, in its narrower middle part it lies to the west of the towns named and at its lower it broadens north-westwardly to include Sens. The highways which developed this area were: Nevers-Auxerre-Troyes-Ponthion-Trèves; Ponthion-Toul; Toul-Metz-Trèves; Nevers-Sens-Provins-Sézanne-Epernay-Rheims, with cross roads from Sézanne to Troyes and to Bar-sur-Aube. The route from Troyes to Rheims, via Sézanne, is quite as distinct as that to Ponthion and thence by Châlons to Rheims, for the second link from Ponthion to Châlons is barely indicated on this map, while the road by Sens is more strongly marked than either of them.

The connection with the Rhône valley system is shown by a belt not quite so strongly marked, running between lines drawn from Troyes to Dijon and from Auxerre by Autun to Chalon-sur-Saône. The journey from Chalon-sur-Saône by Dijon to Troyes and the northeast, is a little shorter than that by Autun, Auxerre and Troyes. For this reason, probably, the former course is the more heavily marked with settlements, though it was not indicated by the political routes. It is possible also, that it was continued north through Troyes to join the Sens-Rheims highway, thus shortening the route to the center of trade. On the other hand the great political highways crossing at Langres do not show on this map at all, neither that from Toul by Dijon to the Saône, nor the much more important one from Ponthion to Besançon and the Alps. Langres seems to lie in the center of a broad, almost wholly uninhabited district. The explanation probably lies in the unfertile nature of the plateau which divides the watershed of the ocean from that of the Mediterranean. Nothing but natural poverty could explain why this city, a stronghold set at the crossing of two great highways, important to the Gauls and Romans, and the seat of

noted bishopric, should never in all its history show any great development. Here is undoubtedly one of the cases where barren land lessens the appearance of traffic; while on the Auxerre-Ponthion line this appearance is probably somewhat exaggerated by the fertility of the soil.

The Langres-Besançon-Italy route becomes more distinct as soon as the Jura ridge is passed. From Orbe to Lausanne and along the north side of Lake Geneva there are many settlements. Settlements again are found along the Lake of Annecy, marking the road by Ugines to St. Maurice, with a second line swinging to the west along the road to Chambéry.

Saône and Rhône Valleys. From Chalon down to Lyons both sides of the Saône are thickly dotted with villages, especially in the region about Cluny. To the west the settlements run well up over the hills, in some places reaching the Loire, but there is no sign of a continuous road—even by Roanne—to the valley of the Allier. Between Lyons and Valence the towns lie almost altogether to the east of the river, spreading to the foothills of the Alps and up the valley of the Drôme. But just above Valence, a clearly marked road, perhaps by Tournon, Montfaucon and Yssingeaux, climbs westward over the Cevennes to Le Puy. There is a suggestion of another road from the Rhône to Le Puy running a little further south, perhaps by Privas and Thueyts.

Below Valence the settlements are considerably more scattered than above, indicating that traffic from Italy turned north from the Isère rather than south. The only sharply marked road on the eastern side is that up the Durance and over the Mont Genèvre pass to Suse, with a branch continuing eastwardly to Nice. There is also a suggestion that the highway north from Marseilles instead of making directly for the Rhône at Arles, ran more along the uplands by Cavaillon and Carpentras, reaching the river above Orange.

Languedoc. On the western side of the Rhône towns are scattered throughout the foothills and the plain from Privas,

Alais and Lodève to the river and the sea. West of Montpellier a knot of towns about Lodève and Bédarieux marks a traffic center of routes to the north and west. One apparently followed the line of the present railway, north by Millau to St. Flour in Auvergne, with western branches by the Tarn to Albi, and by the Lot and Montsalvy to Aurillac. The other route skirted the mountains de l'Espinouse, by St. Pons to Castres and the Tarn, with a southern branch to Carcassonne and so on to the passes of the Pyranees. These roads are, of course, not very strongly marked, being all through mountainous country, but they are evident, and decidedly more clear than the old Roman road from Narbonne by Carcassonne to Toulouse.

Gascony. The region to the south of the Garonne is very sparsely settled, the few villages being mostly along the line of the present railway at the foot of the Pyranees. There is no suggestion of a highway along the Garonne on either side. Toulouse seems set in an uninhabited waste; the only trace of a road from that great city leads up along the Ariège by Foix to the roads over the mountains.

Auvergne. The highway of the Allier is clearly marked. Not that it is thickly studded with villages, for the whole region is wild volcanic country, but because the hills on either side are wholly bare of settlements. From Nevers south to Clermont the road is unbranching. Near Clermont a road diverges to the right by Sauxillanges and La Chaise-Dieu to Le Puy and the Rhône. At Brioude perhaps another branch runs to Le Puy, but the main road swings southwest by Aurillac toward Figeac. At St. Flour a faintly marked road runs south to Mende and Millau and from Aurillac another, more strongly marked, meets it at Millau. Both of these we have already seen, coming from Bédarieux. From Aurillac and from Figeac there are traces of roads turning northwest to some point near Tulle, but the main road holds its southwest course by two slightly divergent lines, one reaching the Tarn, not at Albi, but about Gaillac, half way

to the junction of the Tarn and the Agout, the other near Montauban. At these points it meets the cross road coming up from the coast by Castres.

Aquitaine. The diagonal road across Aquitaine is very clear in its central portion, between Limoges and Turenne. At the southern end it is reached by a road from Montauban,⁶⁷ running apparently slightly west of Cahors to Uzèrche. The roads from Aurillac and Figeac to Tulle, continuing also to Uzèrche, form a thickly settled triangle between Sarlat and Argentat on the Dordogne, and Limoges. Périgueux lies to the southwest, entirely outside this area; there is no sign of any highway passing through it in any direction, unless it be a road from Limoges continued down the Isle, to Bordeaux. At the northern end of the Turenne-Limoges route there is a suggestion of a branch west toward Saintes and of another faint line north by Argenton, while the main highway continues from Limoges straight to Poitiers, and on to the Loire near Angers.

At Poitiers the diagonal route through Aquitaine is crossed by the even more important one running north and south, from Tours to Bordeaux. This highway is clearly marked throughout its length. The territory along its way is more thickly set with villages than any other part of Aquitaine. This is especially true of the northern part, the section between Angoulême and Bordeaux being decidedly less populous. From Poitiers a branch runs west by St. Maixent to Niort and down the Sèvre Niortaise. Another branch runs southwest by Melle and St. Jean-d'Angely to Saintes, and is continued thence to the mouth of the Gironde.

The route from Tours by Bourges is also plainly shown, South of this line there are scattered settlements throughout the countryside, but to the north, in the angle formed by the bend in the Loire, there are none at all, except those by the left bank of the river.

⁶⁷ The dense area just north of Montauban is probably due to the Abbey of Moissac located there.

Normandy, Maine, Anjou and the Orléanais. From Tours the road north to Rouen is very definite as far as Le Mans, from there it seems to swing by Alençon to Sées and then turn straight northeast to the Seine. A blank area along the dividing uplands of the Perche makes it difficult to be sure of any other road from Le Mans to the north or east, except that to Paris by way of Chartres and one by Vendôme to Blois. To the west a settled area stretching up by Mayenne toward the bay of Avranches marks partway, perhaps, the road to St. Michael's shrine. To the southwest is the road to Angers, not nearly so well defined as that to Tours. Farther north, a faint line runs northwest from Sées toward Caen, Bayeux and the Cotentin, and an east-west line from Caen by Lisieux to Bernay connects this region with the lower Seine.

The road to Le Mans is far more strongly marked than any other leading out of Tours. That to Angers is clear enough,—though it seems to have run further north than the political itineraries would indicate,—but the one to Chartres can only be guessed, and that by the Loire to Orléans is totally unmarked. Evidently the commercial interests of Tours lay to the north and south, and were distinct from the political interests which linked it to the Ile-de-France. Orléans, however, is in a different relationship. The road thence to Paris is very distinct, and another, to the east, faintly but evidently shown, unites it by Ferrières or Nemours with the commerce belt of Champagne at Sens or Provins. The most strongly marked road from Chartres is the one mentioned above,^{**} which, crossing the Seine at Mantes or Vernon, runs north to Abbeville. The road to Paris is much less clearly shown.

Paris itself lies in a district nearly as thickly set with villages as is that about Tours. But most of the settlements lie in a line at right angles to the river, and while the banks of the

** P. 93.

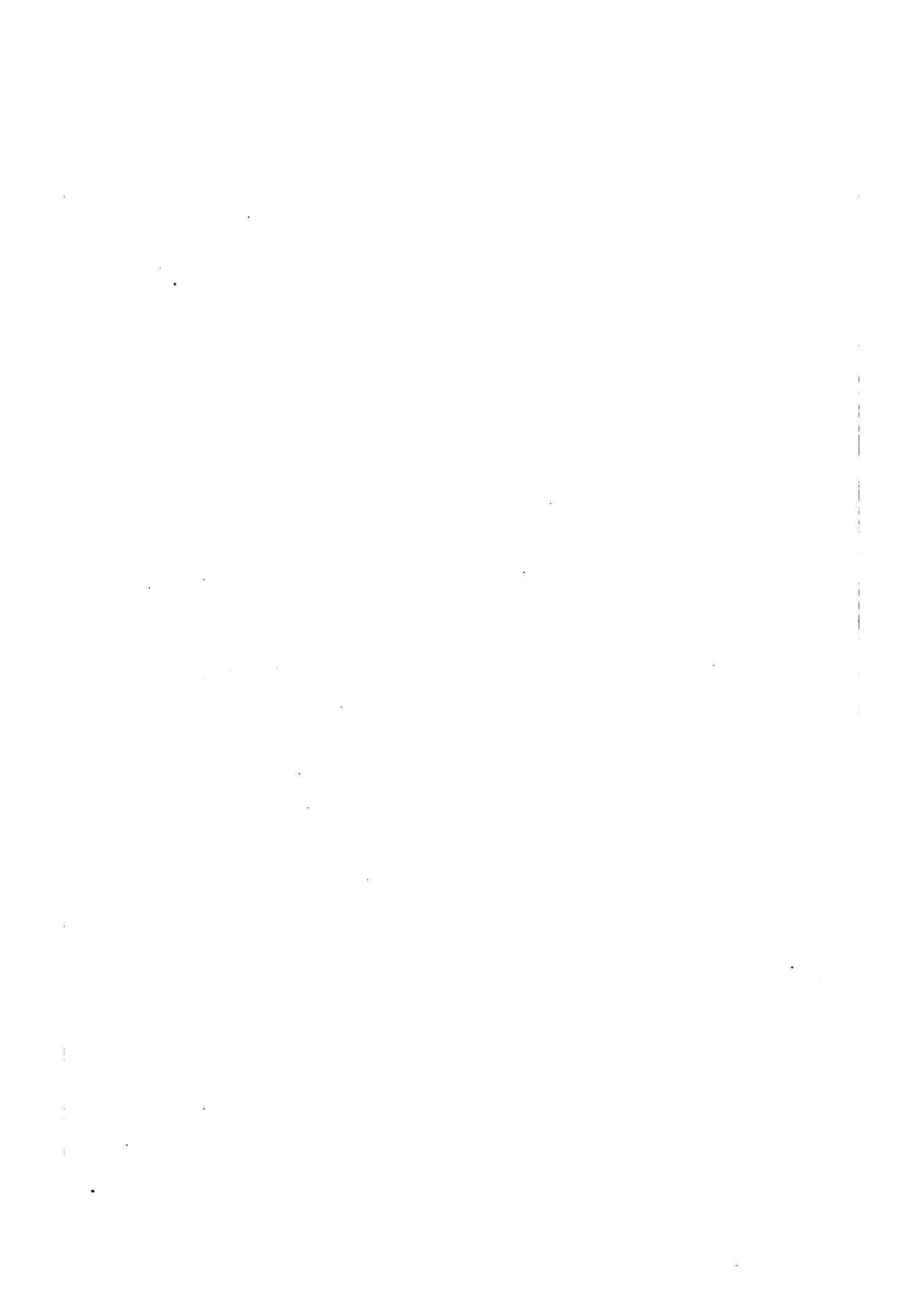
Seine are by no means as deserted as the bank of the Loire. there does not seem to be any real indication of a highway paralleling its course.

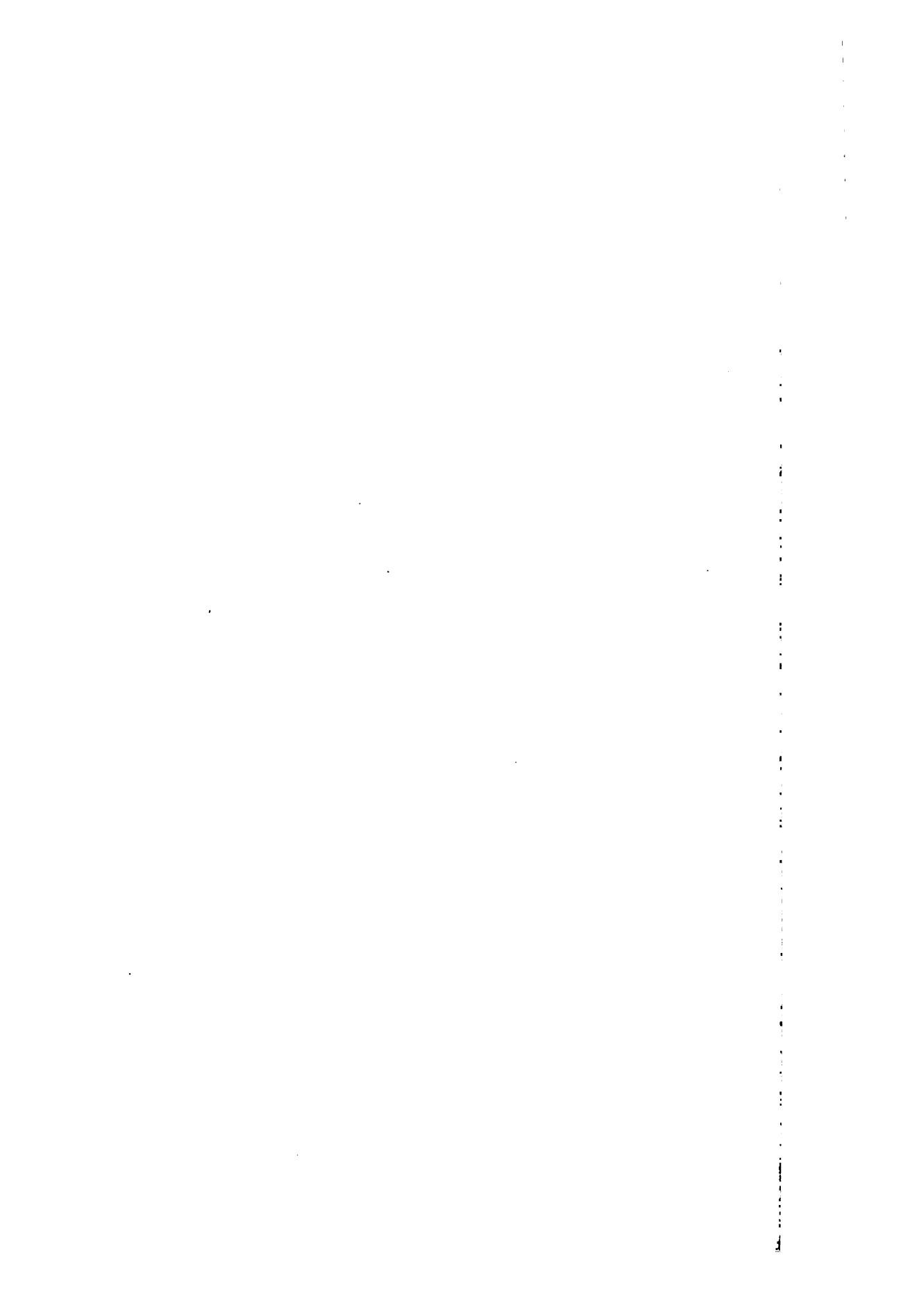
It is evident from a comparison of the map drawn from political data (Pl.I) with that showing the areas of population, (Pl.II) that the traffic of the kings and popes did not always follow the same lines as that of the Carolingian merchants. But on the other hand, the routes *most* travelled by the potentates are also the *greatest* commercial highways. So that with one system acting as a check and reenforcement to the other, there can be little doubt about the lines of travel which connected the different parts of France with one another, and with the outside world, in the formative period from the downfall of the Roman dominion until the reestablishment of a lasting government in the mid-twelfth century.

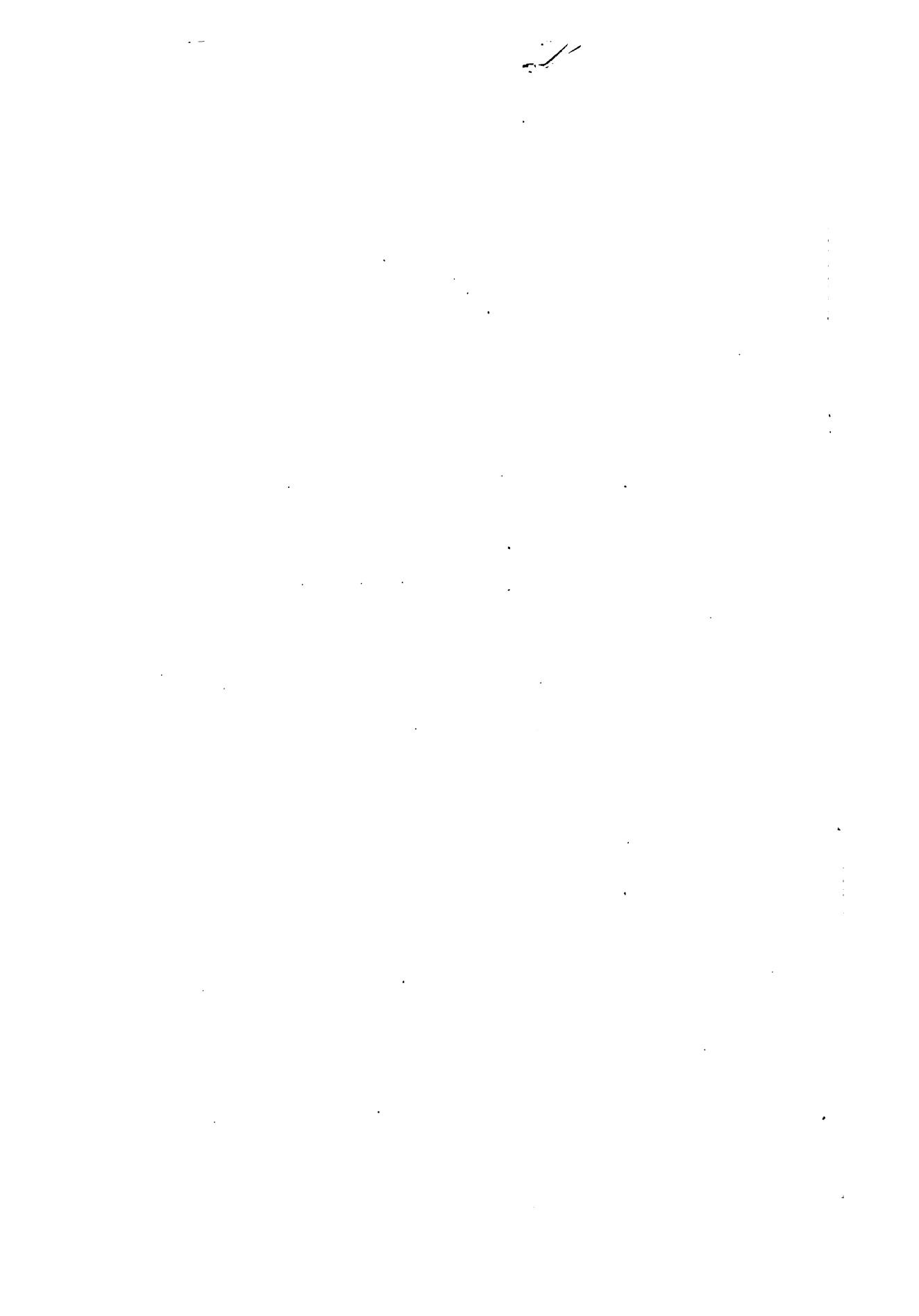
APPENDIX I.

TABLES OF THE JOURNEYS OF CERTAIN KINGS OF FRANCE.

In each of the following tables the series of names in the left hand column constitutes a hypothetical route, which has been reconstructed from fragmentary evidence of journeys along its course. This evidence is given in the other columns of the tables, arranged chronologically for each route and king. Wherever possible, the date of the royal visit to each locality has been given, these visits having little value as evidences of routes unless the intervals of time between them are sufficiently short to indicate a direct progress from one to another.







X I

TABLE I

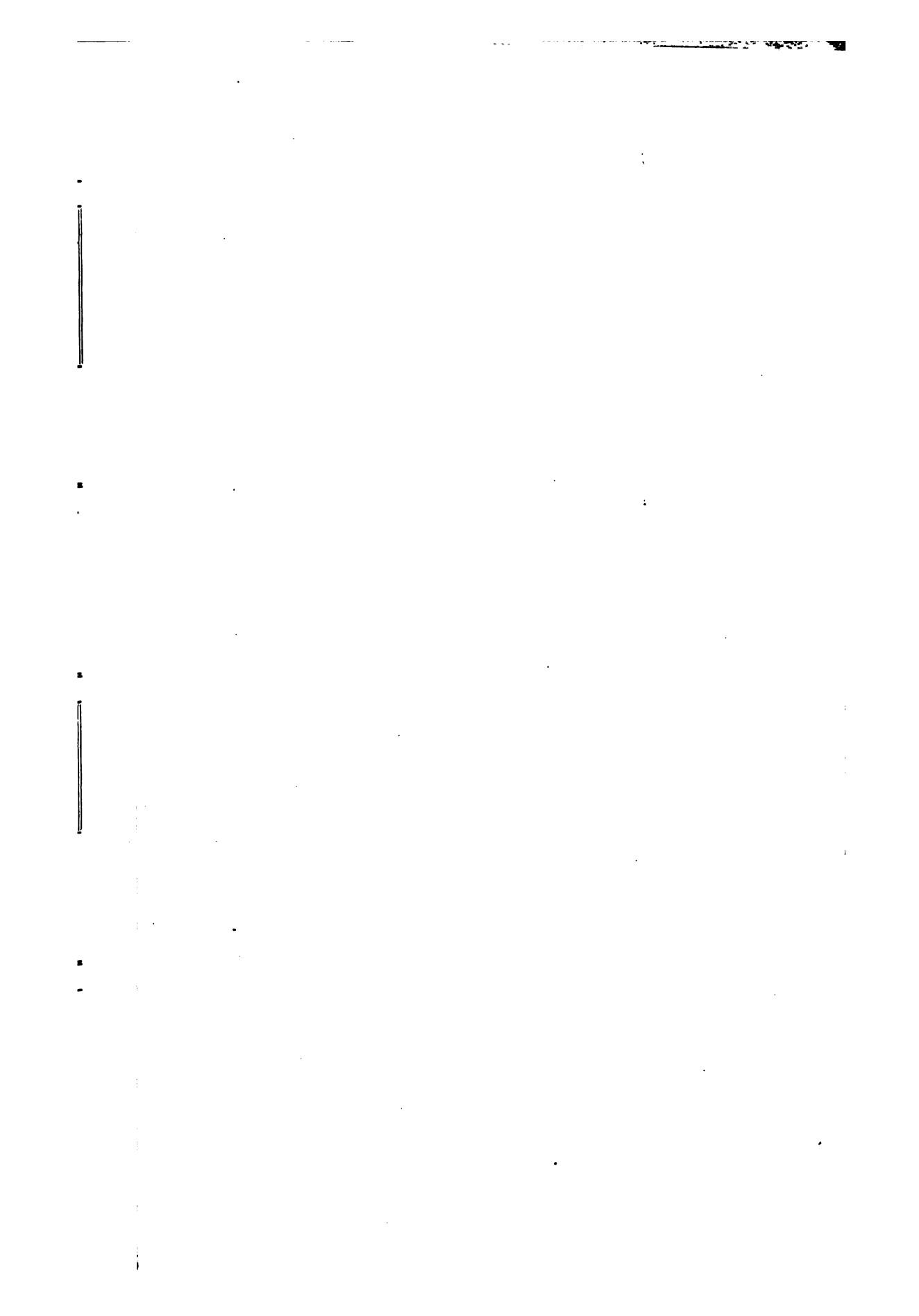
779	782		804	
Duren	July July 4	Cologne Duren (?)	Aft. Sept.	Aix
—	↑	—	—	—
—	Apr. 7	—	—	—
—		Quierzy	Dec.	Rheims
Virziniacum* Compiègne				

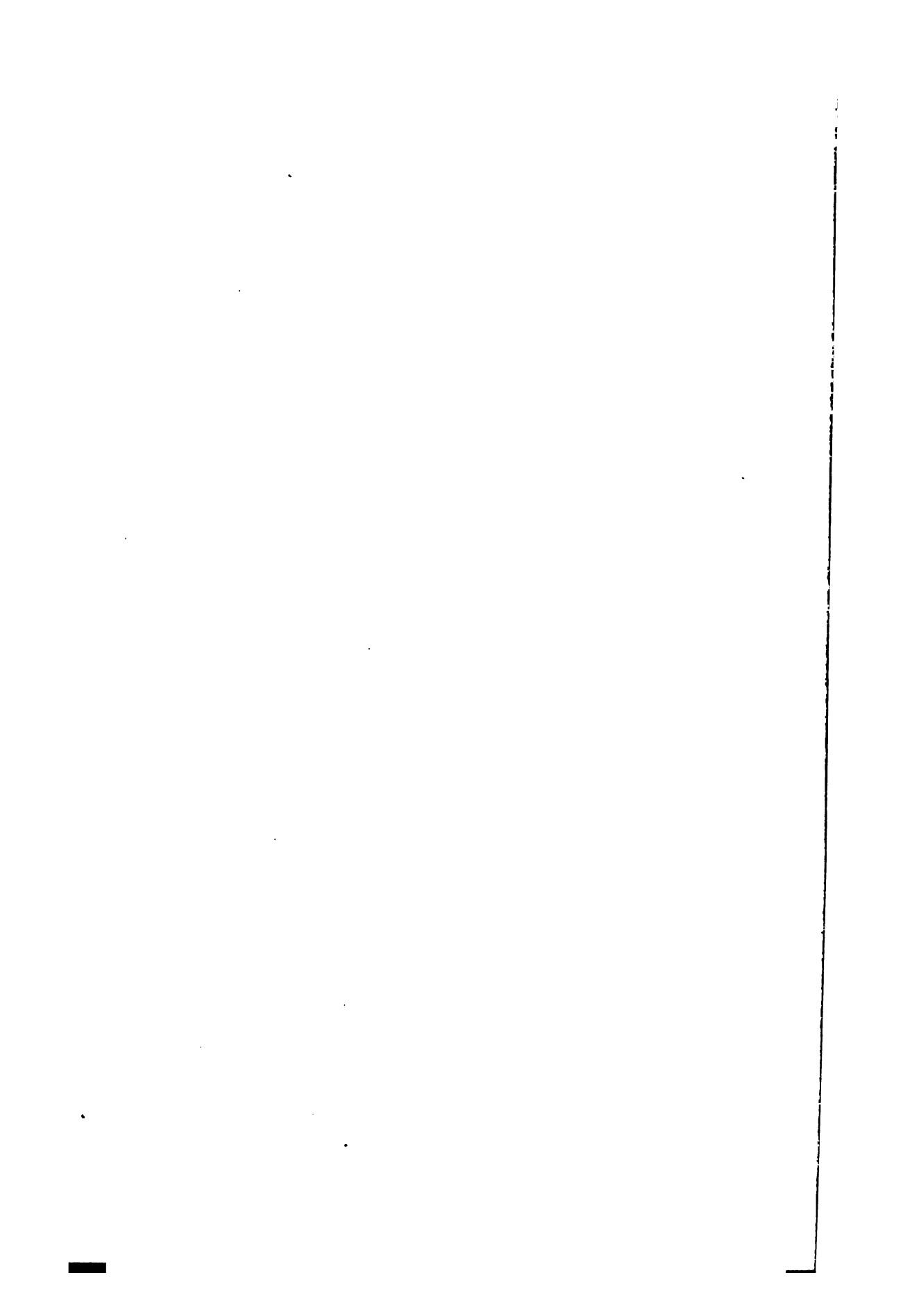
838	* Blaniacus is supposed by SIMSON (op. cit. Vol. II, p. 126, Note 3) to be the modern Blagny. (Dep. Ardennes, Arr. Sedan) This is hardly on the direct road from Attigny to Thionville, but as the date of arrival at Thionville is not known, there is no proof that Louis went there by the shortest road. Blaniacus might even be the modern Blanzy, about five miles below Château-Porcien on the Aisne, and about 20 miles west of Attigny.			
Mayence	—			
—	—			
—	—			
Attigny	—			
(St. Quentin)	—			

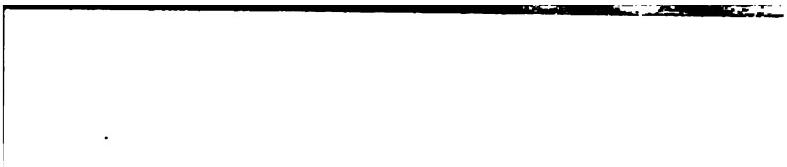
824	824		827-28	
Compiègne	June 30	Compiègne	Oct. Nov. 10	Compiègne Quierzy
—	↑	—	—	—
—	Apr.	Aix	Feb. 12	Aix
Aix				

838	* Jucundiacus or Joguntiacus is the modern Jetzt-le-Palais (dep. Hte.Vienne; arr. Ballac) north of Limoges, (cf. SIMSON op. cit. Vol. II, p. 25, Note 2.)			
Compiègne (Ver) Paris	—			









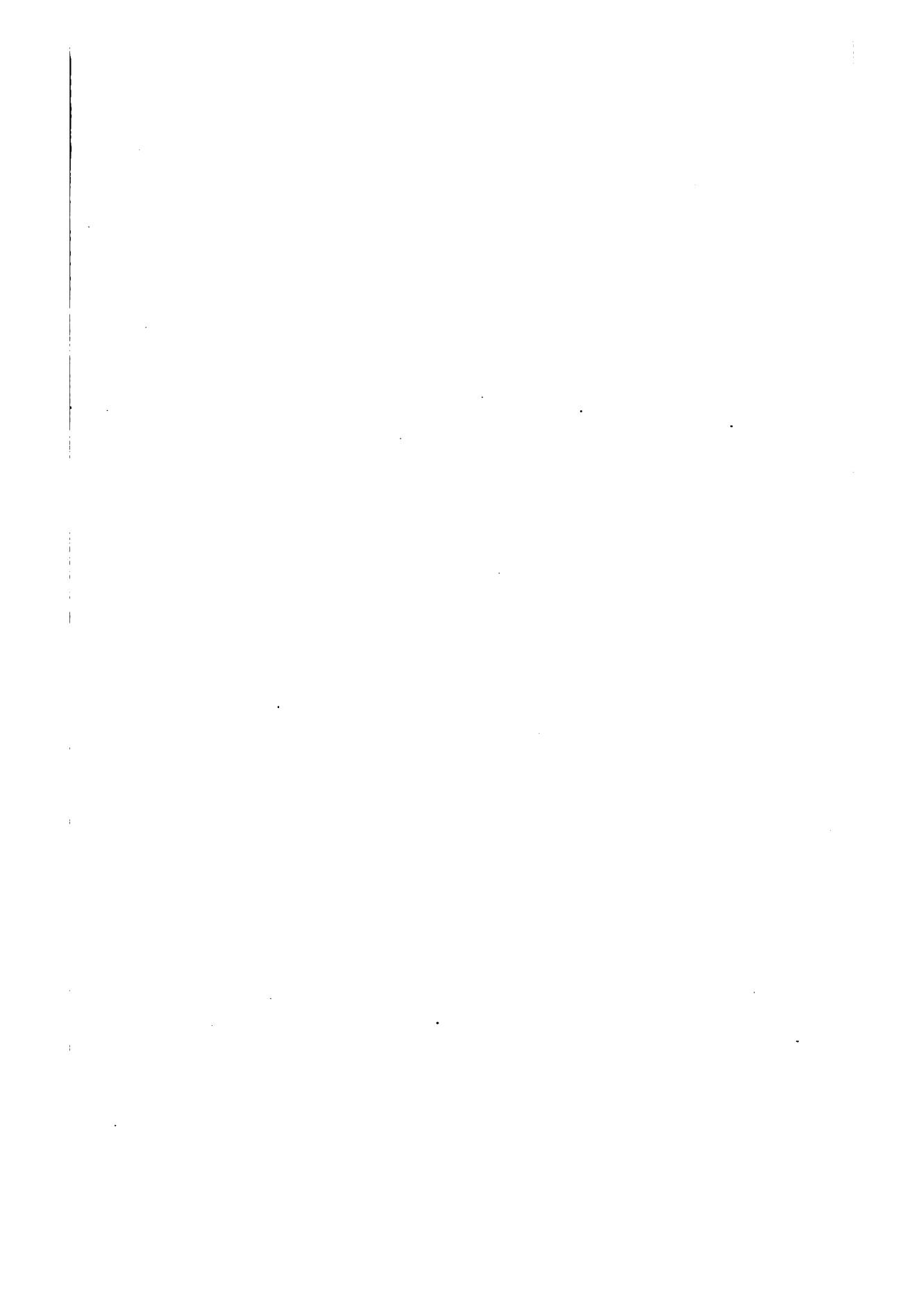
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TABLE III

876		877	
Compiègne	June 20	Compiègne	
—	June 24	Soissons	
Rheims		Rheims	
Châlons		Châlons	
—	July 12	Ponthion	
Langres	July 21	Langres	
Besançon	Aug. 11	Besançon	
(Fontaine de Warnaire)		Orbe	
St. Maurice			
Mt. Joux			* Mt. Joux, the little St. Bern- ard Pass.
Pavia	Sept.	Pavia	

861		867-68		868-69
(Quierzy)	Dec. 7	(Quierzy) Rheims	Dec. 25	(Compiègne)
—		—		—
—		Troyes		—
Auxerre	Dec. 25	Auxerre (Beau-Pouilli)*	Jan. 30	—
—	Jan.	Bourges		Cosne

855		866-67		867
Paris	Dec. 25	Compiègne	Apr. 22	Compiègne
—		—	Mar. 30	St. Denis
Germigny	c. Mar. 10	Beau-Pouilli	c. Mar. 10	Beau-Pouilli



X I

TABLE IV

847-48	850		851-52	
Compiègne — ("Toward Aquitaine")			Jan. 17 ↑ Dec. 29 ↑ Nov. 6 ↑ Aug. 27	Quiersy — St. Denis — — Tours — — Angers — (Brittany)
Tours	Aug. 8 Aug. 7 — Aug. 15 Aug. Sept.	(Bonneveau) (Verrière)* — (Chambellay) Rennes		

* comm. of Trélazé, near Angers.

863 (Soissons) — — Le Mans	(*) cf. <i>H'tes études</i> , Fasc. 175, p. 203, Note 2. † Aisonis villa or Osonis villa is probably either Oisonville or Auxainville, both are in the immediate neighborhood of Chartres. cf. <i>H'tes études</i> , Fasc. 175, p. 203, Note 3. (§) cf. <i>H'tes études</i> , Fasc. 175, p. 204, Note 5.
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868	866	869		
(Laonais) — Pitres	Dec. 1 ↑ Mid-Aug.	(Quiersy) — Pitres	Mid-Aug. ↑ July 21	(Senlis) — Pitres

869	873		
(Baisieu)‡ Pitres	Nov.-Dec. ↑ Nov. 1 Oct. 12 Sept.-Oct.	(Orreville) — Amiens Pitres Evreux Le Mans Angers	* Vernantes, about half way between Angers and Tours. † Bannes, on the Loire, about 1 mile from Chateau-du-Loir. § Orreville, on the Authie near Doulens. ‡ Baisieu, in Amienois.



APPENDIX II.

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